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PUBLICATIONS

VOLUME SEVENTEEN

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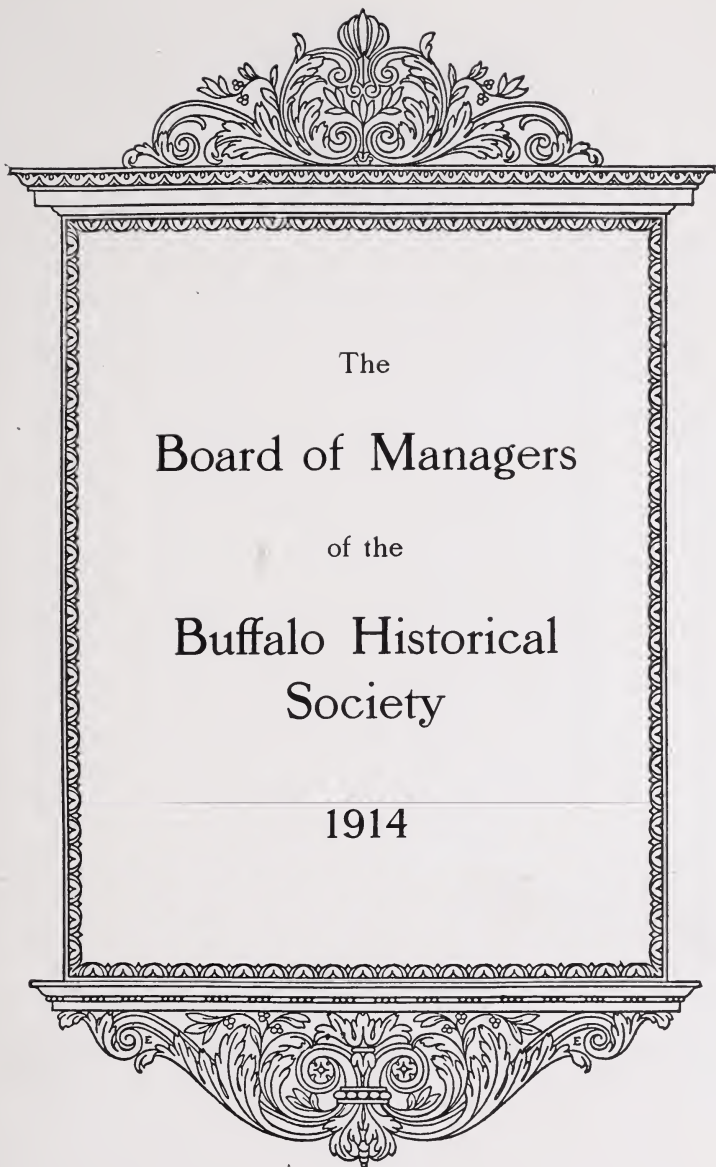
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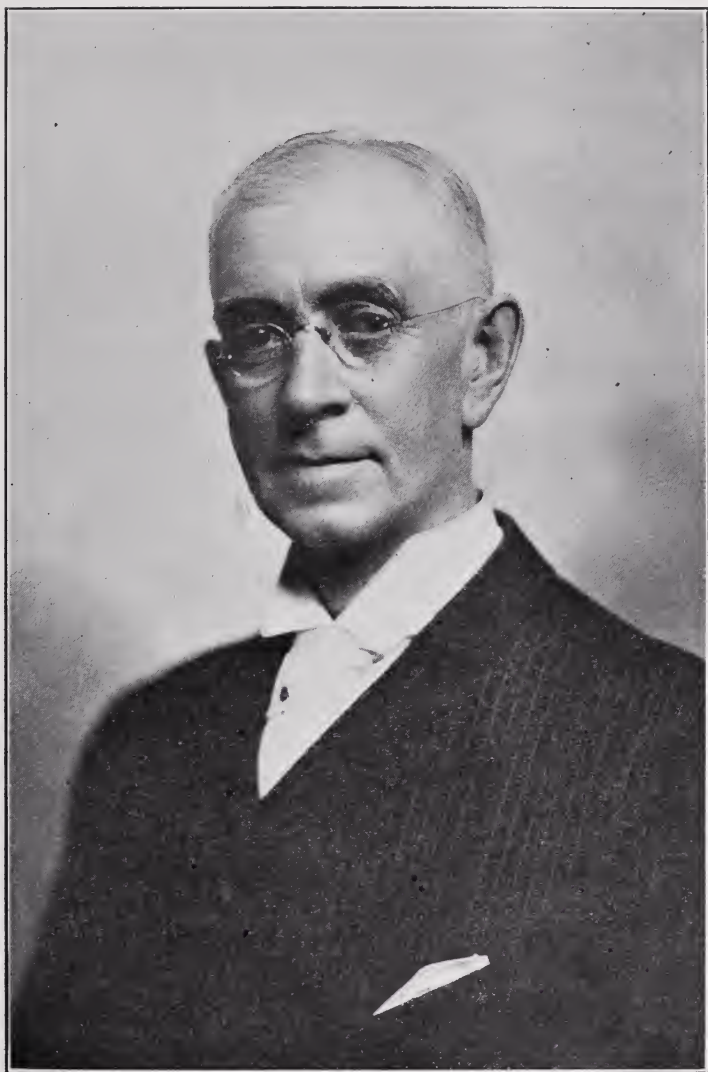
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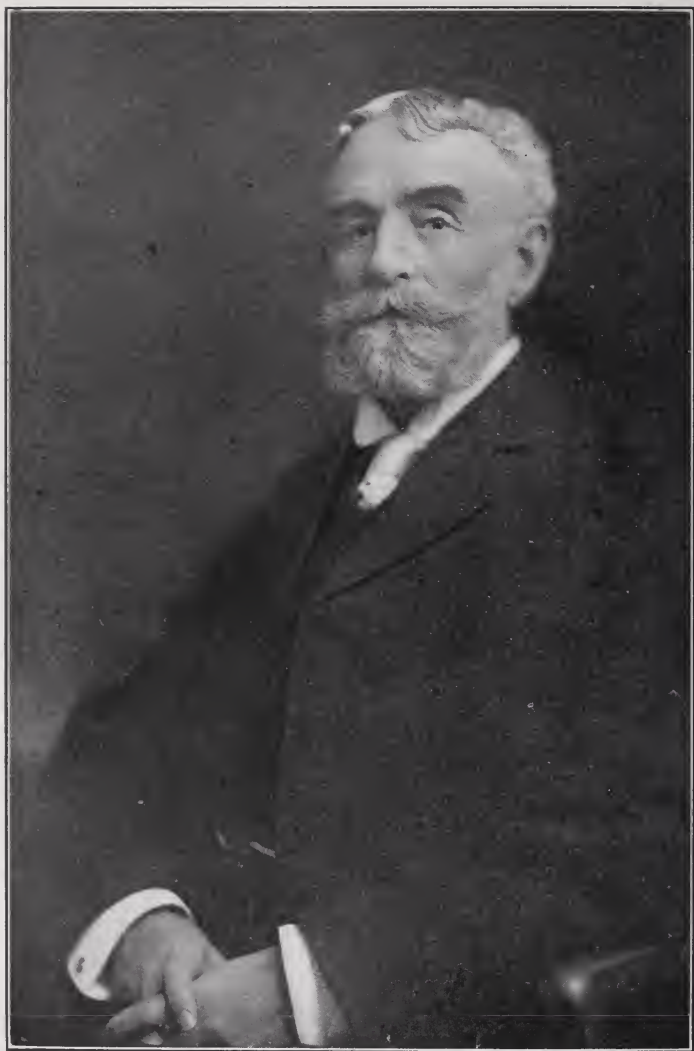
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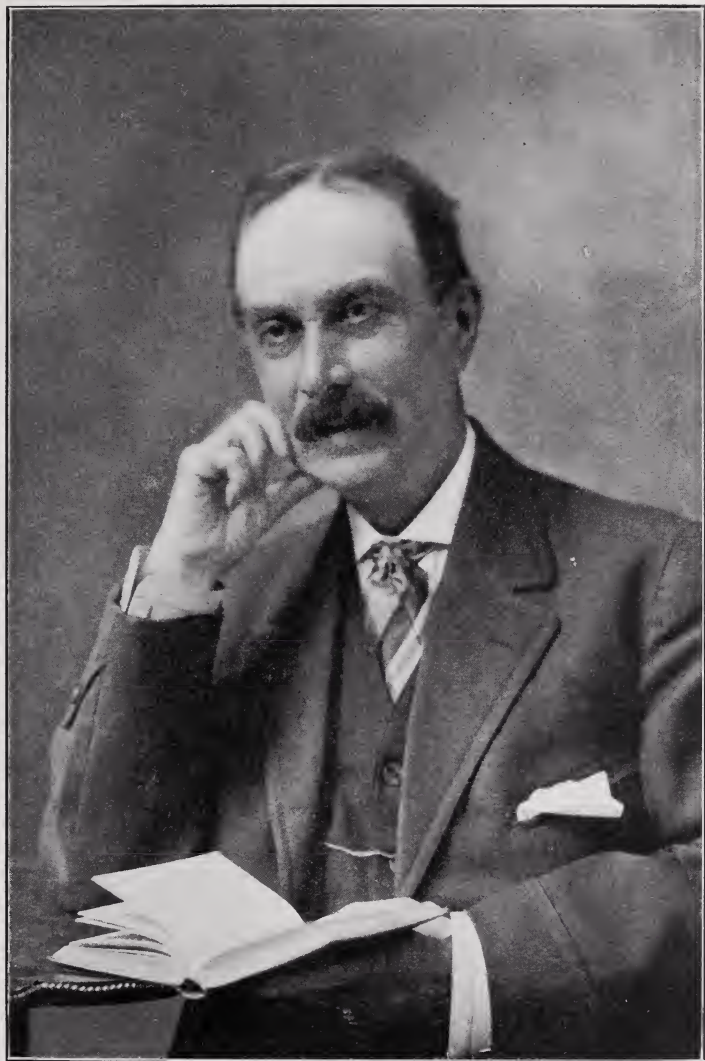
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PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
VOLUME XVII

EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

BUFFALO, NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1913

Anton and Times Press
Buffalo

OFFICERS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1913

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The Mayor of Buffalo, the Corporation Counsel, the Comptroller, Superintendent of Education, President of the Board of Park Commissioners, and President of the Common Council, are *ex-officio* members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society.

* Succeeded J. N. Larned, died August 15, 1913.

† Succeeded Henry A. Richmond, died May 10, 1913.

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FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

*MILLARD FILLMORE, ...	1862 to 1867
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*REV. ALBERT T. CHESTER, D. D., ...	1869
*ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL, ...	1870
*HON. NATHAN K. HALL, ...	1871
*WILLIAM H. GREENE, ...	1872
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*OLIVER G. STEELE, ...	1874
*HON. JAMES SHELDON, ...	1875 and 1886
*WILLIAM C. BRYANT, ...	1876
*CAPT. E. P. DORR, ...	1877
*HON. WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH, ...	1878
*WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN, ...	1879 and 1885
*HON. ELIAS S. HAWLEY, ...	1880
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*JAMES TILLINGHAST, ...	1888
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*JOSEPH C. GREENE, M. D., ...	1891
*JULIUS H. DAWES, ...	1893
ANDREW LANGDON, ...	1894 to 1909
HENRY W. HILL, ...	1910 to 1913

* Deceased.

PREFACE

RECENT volumes of this series have been devoted each to a special topic or group of related topics in our regional history. The present volume is more varied in character.

The leading paper is a record of the life and work of Hon. William Pryor Letchworth, a former president of this Society. Its author, the late J. N. Larned, had known Mr. Letchworth for half a century, had prepared an extended biography of him, since published in book form, and was perhaps of all men best qualified to add to the records of this Society an adequate and appreciative review of Mr. Letchworth's life-work. It is not merely adequate and appreciative, but it is just. Written by Mr. Larned, it could not be otherwise.

Of somewhat similar character, and reflecting a like intimacy, is Mr. Henry Ware Sprague's paper on the late Lars G. Sellstedt. The Historical Society is fortunate in being able to preserve in its records, this portrait, drawn with literary skill and warmth of feeling, of an artist greatly endeared to his own generation, his memory made green though coming years by his work.

The fiftieth birthday of the Buffalo Historical Society, and the exercises incident thereto, have made it necessary in this volume to say a good deal about the Society itself. Besides the full report of the proceedings at the semi-cen-

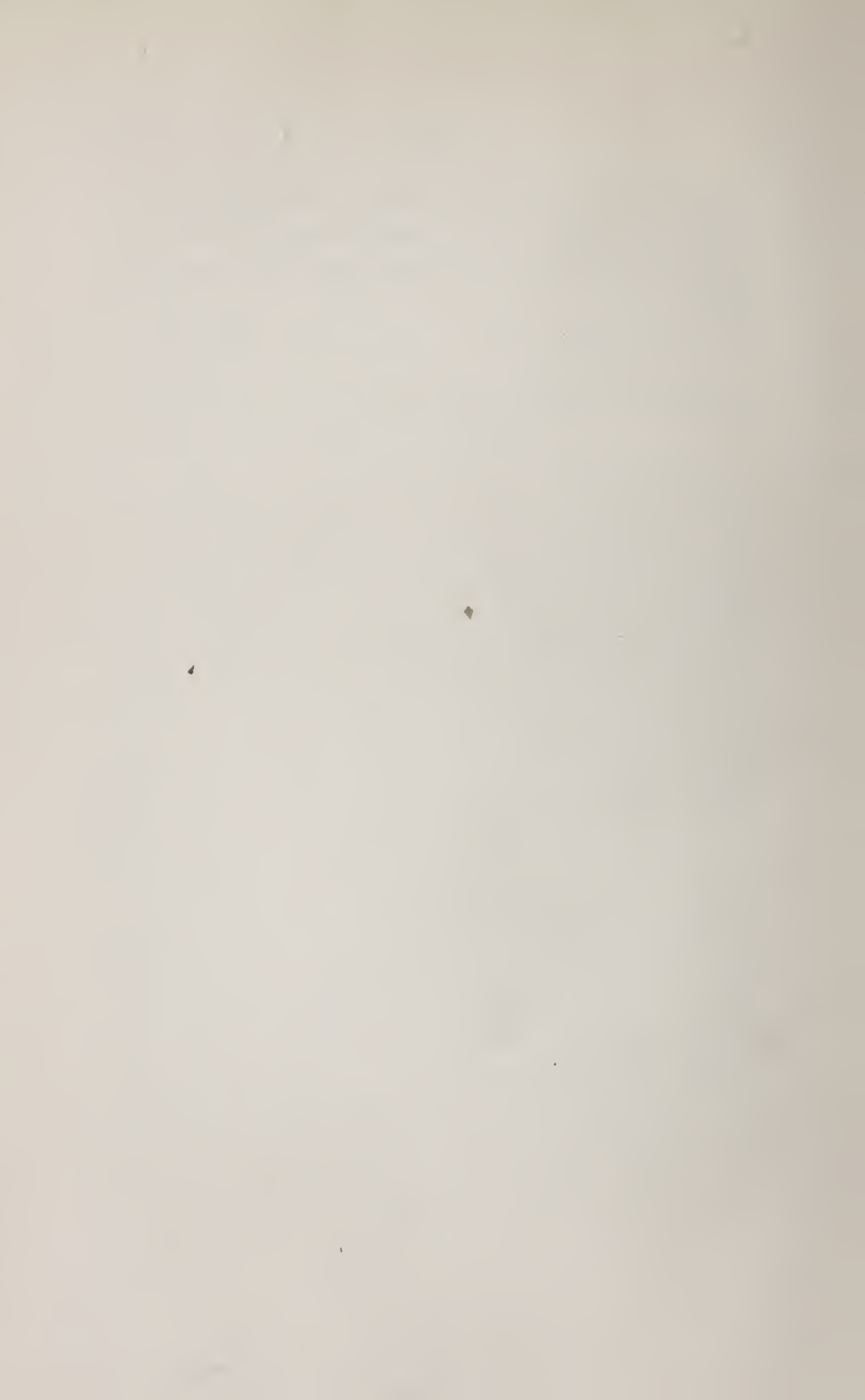
tenary, including the addresses made at the unveiling of tablets in memory of Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland, this volume also contains the minutes of the fiftieth and fifty-first annual meetings. Report of the former would naturally have appeared in last year's volume; but the unusual character of that work ("The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo") made it advisable to carry these routine records over to the present publication.

To many, into whose hands this book will come, its most attractive feature will be the group of papers giving reminiscence and anecdote of the earlier Buffalo. The "Early Recollections" of the late Mrs. Snow (her death occurring March 16, 1911); Mr. Frank M. Hollister's enjoyable glimpses of "Some Early Buffalo Characters"; and Mr. Sylvester J. Mathews' memories of Buffalo in the '30's—the Buffalo of his boyhood—make up a group of papers which, though written in light vein, have none the less their place in these Publications, and a definite value to the student of Buffalo history. So too has the remarkable statement of Benjamin Rathbun.

Of broader value, are the letters and military orders of General, afterwards Sir, Roger Hale Sheaffe. Documentary material of this sort has little attraction to one who reads merely for entertainment; but its worth will be recognized and appreciated, by the student of the war period of 1812-1814 on the Niagara and adjacent Lakes. The Buffalo Historical Society regards it as an important part of its publication work, to discover and preserve in these volumes documents of this character—the crude material from which trustworthy historical narrative may be written.

Acknowledgment is herewith made to the Hon. James Hilton Manning of Albany, through whose courtesy the present publication of the Sheaffe papers has been made possible.

F. H. S.



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WILLIAM PRYOR LETCHWORTH

By J. N. LARNED

THE LIFE AND WORK OF WILLIAM PRYOR LETCHWORTH

READ AT A MEETING OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY ON THURSDAY EVENING,
APRIL 18, 1912

By J. N. LARNED

I knew Mr. Letchworth with considerable intimacy for somewhat more than fifty years. I thought that I knew him well, and had admired and esteemed him justly, to the high measure of his dues. But, last year, it became my privilege to prepare an account of his life, and in my study for that purpose, of his whole career and of himself as revealed in it, I found that I had not more than half understood how rare a man he was in qualities and powers. What I shall say to you about him tonight will be quoted for the most part from the biography (soon to be published) in which I have attempted to portray his life, his work, his manifested character, the greatness of his service to the world, in an adequate way.

The life to be reviewed was that of a man who spent a moderate part of it in pursuits of personal business, until they had given him the freedom and the means for effective service to his fellow men, rendered through a long remainder of laborious years, and who exercised in that service a rare capacity for what may be described as the states-

manship of philanthropy, which labors for the reformation of evil conditions in the world. The instructiveness of his labors and the inspiration of his example seem equally to have given an importance to his life which death did not end.

In devoting the greater part of his mature life to benevolent work (performed as an unpaid official of the State of New York, and wholly at his own cost), Mr. Letchworth was obedient, it is plain, to hereditary promptings, from an ancestry which had been spiritually cultured for two centuries by the humane Christianity of the Society of Friends. The family was of ancient English stock,—so ancient that its origin, if the tracing were possible, would most likely be found in Saxon times. The name, Letchworth, is that of a parish and village in the hundred of Broadwater, county of Hertford, England, two miles from the town of Hitchin and northwestward from London about thirty-three miles. It seems obviously a Saxon name, and whether the parish received it from the family or the family from the parish is an undetermined question which calls for no discussion here.

Our present interest in this genealogy goes back to about the middle of the Seventeenth Century, soon after George Fox began the preaching in England which inspired the formation of the Society of Friends. At that time one Robert Letchworth, living in the village of Chesterton, near Cambridge, and about twenty-five miles from Letchworth village, is found to have joined the religious followers of George Fox, and to have borne his share of the penalties of imprisonment and fine which the Friends or Quakers of that generation had to suffer, for refusing to pay tithes to the established church, or to attend its services, or to make oath in courts of law. This Robert Letchworth is believed to have been the grandfather of another Robert, born late

in the Seventeenth Century, from whom the descent of all who bear the name in America is authentically traced.

The last-named Robert Letchworth, a business man of London, served also in the ministry of the Friends for many years, and his third son, Thomas, became a very notable preacher of the sect. From this Thomas Letchworth the families who bear the name in England derive their descent.

On our western continent the family name was planted by John Letchworth, the second son of Robert, who emigrated to America in 1766. Leaving his wife and four children in England, he came alone, to test the conditions of life at Philadelphia before venturing to bring his family thither. In 1768 he had established himself in business as a builder so satisfactorily that wife and children were called to join him in the new home. The reunion was unhappily brief; for the father, being summoned back to England on some errand of business, in 1772, fell sick while there and died. His widow, thus sorely bereft, remained at Philadelphia and reared her children, two sons and two daughters, under circumstances of much hardship, in the troubled years before and during the Revolutionary War. The younger son of this transplanted family, William Letchworth, married and spent his life in Philadelphia, rearing a family of eight children, the eldest of whom, named Josiah, born in 1791, became the father of the subject of this biography.

Josiah Letchworth, married in 1815 to Miss Ann Hance, began his wedded life at Burlington, New Jersey, but removed in time to successive homes at Brownville, Moravia, Sherwood and, finally, Auburn, New York. His residence in Auburn was no longer than five years; but it sufficed to make him a citizen of note. He had not come to the city

as a stranger, his life for twenty years at Sherwood having brought him into much intercourse with the city; but nothing in that intercourse could account for the quickness with which he became affectionately known and esteemed by the public at large. He entered actively into social service work, along many lines; interested himself greatly in the schools; spoke much and earnestly for temperance and against slavery, and appears to have caused the fine spirit of benevolence and justice in true Quakerism to be felt in the city as a potent force. When he died, in the spring of 1857, there was a profound sense of public loss in Auburn, which Senator Seward gave voice to some months later, on returning from Washington to his home. "Josiah Letchworth, the founder of our charities, the defender of truth and justice, is no more," he exclaimed, in a public address. "You," he added, "deplore his loss as I do; for he was not more my friend than a public benefactor."

A more significant tribute to the memory of Josiah Letchworth was paid by children of the schools, who raised a fund with which to procure the engraving of his portrait on steel by Mr. Buttre, a noted artist of the day. Prints from this excellent engraving went into many Auburn homes.

It goes without saying that the father who won the hearts of a community was loved and revered in his own household; and this was equally true of the mother,—a strong and admirable character, who ruled her children with a firmness that was ever kind and wise. Between the brothers and sisters, too, the ties of affection were more than common in strength and warmth. From an abundance of family correspondence, confided to the writer of this memoir, he receives no other impression so clear as that of the atmosphere of love, of piety in the large sense, of all

simple rightness of feeling, in which the young were reared, and the influence of which they carried with them from the parental home.

Of a family of four daughters and four sons William Pryor Letchworth was the fourth child and the second son. He was born on the 26th of May, 1823, while the family lived at Brownville. Very little of autobiographical material is to be found in anything left by Mr. Letchworth, of letters or other writings; but in bits of reminiscence that he did now and then commit to paper he was always carried back to his childhood. One such tells of a project he formed, apparently in his twelfth or thirteenth year, of running away from home.

"By reading the lives of some noted men, and various stories of marvellous adventure [he wrote], I was impressed with the idea that, to be successful and achieve great things, it was necessary that one should run away from home while a boy. This conclusion, and the secret resolution I had formed to act on it, I confided to an employe of my father of whom I was very fond. He basely betrayed me, and my father soon found the opportunity for a private conversation with me. To my dismay, he said: 'William, it is understood that thee intends to leave us. I am sorry to learn this, as we all think a great deal of thee. Through thy early childhood and down to the present time thee has been a great care to mother and myself, to say nothing of considerable expense, and we had been looking forward to the time when thee would have the good will and strength to make us some return for what we have tried to do for thee. But, since thee has decided to leave us, we will conform ourselves to thy wishes. In the carrying-out of thy plan there is one thing, however, that troubles me, and that is thy leaving in the night, and without the opportunity of our bidding thee good-bye. Mother has a pair of new stockings she has knit for thee, and thy brothers and sisters would like to make thee some little presents.' This brought me to my senses. I felt shame and disgust with myself, and nothing more was said of the running-away plot."

Nothing could be told of the father of William Pryor Letchworth that would illustrate more significantly the wisdom with which the youth of the latter was trained, and the fine inheritance of mind and temper on which it was his good fortune to draw.

Another of the few gleanings of autobiographical material from Mr. Letchworth's papers is a note of the circumstances of his going from the family home into the outside world, to begin the career of business which he followed from his fifteenth to his fiftieth year. Not long after the frustration of his running-away project, his father, he relates,

"made application to the head of an importing and manufacturing house [at Auburn] for a place for me. He soon received a reply, asking him to bring me to the city. A conversation followed between the head of the firm and my father, at the close of which my father said: 'Well, William' (addressing the merchant by his given name), 'I have endeavored thus far to make a man of my son, and will ask thee to finish the task.' Before leaving, my father gave me a dollar, with the remark that I might need a little pocket-money. This was all that my father ever gave me, and with this I began life. A few years after I had become of age I was disposed to envy one of my former chums whose father gave him five thousand dollars to start business with; but his experience made me finally thankful that my father never was able to give me anything beyond the one dollar.

"My salary with the firm [Hayden & Holmes, manufacturers and dealers in saddlery hardware] which engaged me was fixed at forty dollars a year, and living, and out of this I was to clothe myself and meet all my personal expenses. I set out with the determination that this sum, small as it was, should suffice for all my requirements. The result was that I saved during the year between two and three dollars, and placed the same on interest. . . . The realization that I could practice sufficient self-denial to live within my means gave me greater confidence in myself and strengthened my character. Living within one's means is

as necessary to success as it is essential to one's peace of mind and happiness."

Thus William had his graduation from home and common schools, in or about his fifteenth year, and was matriculated in the university of practical affairs, to learn the ways of men and be trained for entrance into the activities of the world. Ambition had an early growth in him, as he more than once confessed. Apparently it was an ambition quite undefined in those early years. Nothing indicates that his aspirations were directed toward any particular goal, of political or literary or scientific renown, or of wealth. What he felt as ambition may have been just an upward-impelling eager spirit which would have the same potency in all situations, to make the most of them, get the best out of them, rise to the highest of their offered possibilities. All that is told of his youthful clerkship in the service of Hayden & Holmes goes to show that this spirit was as manifest in it as in the higher, final work of his life. He studied the making, buying, and selling of saddlery hardware as carefully, thoroughly, zealously as, forty years later, he studied the saving of homeless children, the care of epileptics, and the treatment of the insane. As a boy he accepted the assignment to him of a field of work in which his means of living were to be earned, and labored in it without stint; as a man, when his independence had been won, he chose for himself a mission of social service, and gave himself unsparingly to that. The fidelity to his undertaking was the same in each case.

In the service of Hayden & Holmes, at their establishment in Auburn, the youth grew to young manhood, remaining six or seven years, living in the family of Mr. Holmes, as a friend, and becoming more and more invaluable to the firm. Their business was an extensive one for

that period, employing a large part of the convicts in the prison workshops at Auburn, under contract with the State. Mr. Hayden, the senior partner in the firm, was the head of several other establishments in the same line of business, at different points in the country, including one at New York. That gentleman had kept an eye on young Letchworth, noting his intelligence, his fidelity, the complete understanding he had acquired of every detail of the business, and the good judgment with which his duties were performed, with the result that the Auburn clerk was called to a post of more importance at New York.

This advance to a higher school of business and to the opening of a larger experience of life came to Mr. Letchworth in the summer or fall of 1845,—the year after his crossing the threshold into manhood's estate. Of the three years of his life and work in New York not much can be told. He wrote frequently to his parents and sisters, and his letters were carefully kept, as all similar family records were preserved; but they contain almost nothing that touches the work he was doing or the circumstances of his life outside of his work.

His residence in New York ended in the autumn of 1848, when he entered into new arrangements of business which carried him to Buffalo, and into a partnership with the Messrs. Pratt & Co., leading hardware merchants of that city. They had known him at Auburn and at New York, through their dealings with Hayden & Holmes, and evidently they had formed a high opinion of his worth. Accordingly, having planned to increase the importance of the saddlery hardware department of their business, they made overtures to Mr. Letchworth which "became definite in October, 1848, and which resulted quickly in the organization of a new firm, under the name of Pratt & Letchworth,

distinct in business from that of Pratt & Co., but in which Mr. Letchworth was associated with the three members of the latter firm, namely, Samuel F. Pratt, Pascal P. Pratt, and Edward P. Beals. In a "Sketch of the Life of Samuel F. Pratt," written and privately printed by Mr. Letchworth after his elder partner's death, he states that the negotiations which brought him into this connection were conducted by Mr. Pascal P. Pratt, with his brother's concurrence, and he adds: "I think few partnerships ever existed with so uniformly pleasant relations. In reviewing the long intercourse between Samuel F. Pratt and myself, I cannot recall, in all the discussions growing out of the perplexities of business, one unkind word or even harsh tone."

Here, then, William Pryor Letchworth, at the age of twenty-five, had come to the opening of a quite perfect opportunity for making, to his own advantage as well as to the advantage of others, a full use of the business knowledge and experience he had been storing carefully for ten years. For some years after he assumed the responsibilities that attended the establishing and upbuilding of such a business as that of Pratt & Letchworth became, the burden on him must have been heavy to bear. Even more than in his 'prentice years with Hayden & Holmes, his life appears to have been immersed in the affairs of the factory and the counting-room. Outside of what relates to these there is little record of what he thought or felt or said or did, for four or five years. Probably it was still the fact, as he wrote in March, 1849, that he had made few acquaintances in Buffalo "save in the way of business." For social relaxations he cannot have had much time. In a letter to his brother George, written on Christmas Day, 1852, there is a cry that seems wrung from him by the consciousness that he is overtaking his strength. He can never have

been robust in physique, and, though no illness or disability is spoken of, he had been brought somewhat sharply, perhaps, to a realization that his health was insecure. "Oh, that I had an iron constitution, as some have," he exclaimed. "Of all things earthly that God could bestow upon me I could pray for nothing more fervently than for strong, rugged, robust health." Evidently, in the following year, he so shaped matters in his business as to relax its demands on him; for he spent some months of the winter and spring of 1854 in Florida, with apparent good effects, and came back then to about two years more of unbroken business cares. In 1856, having been joined in the business by his brother Josiah (his brother Edward having entered it previously) he indulged himself in a year of travel abroad, from which vacation he came back to resume the headship of the firm of Pratt & Letchworth, but under circumstances which undoubtedly eased his labors and cares. In his brothers he now had a staff of the greatest possible helpfulness to him, and throughout the establishment there was an organized efficiency of work. Somewhat later, when the firm bought property at Black Rock for the location of their manufacturing plant, a great development of that side of their business was begun. The manufacture of malleable iron was undertaken soon after, and that became one of the leading industrial enterprises of the city.

Notwithstanding this enlargement of his undertakings there are signs that Mr. Letchworth, after returning from his sojourn abroad, had more leisure to give to interests outside of the making and marketing of goods, and was enjoying a widened intercourse with people in Buffalo on other than business lines. Many of the important friendships of his after life seem traceable to this period, and there is really no doubt that the trend of his life underwent

a notable turn within a few years that followed the vacation of 1857.

It was soon after his return that he began to entertain the thought of acquiring a pleasant country place, for summer rest and for the entertainment of friends. On a journey from New York to Buffalo over the Erie Railway he was induced by a chance suggestion to halt for a few hours at Portage station, where that road crosses the Genesee. One look then taken from the high railway bridge into the beautiful glen of the Upper and Middle Falls of the Genesee, sealed his mind against a willing acceptance of any other spot for the country home he desired. He did not easily or quickly win possession of the coveted ground, but it was yielded to him at last, by conveyances in February, 1859, and received not much later the long familiar name of "Glen Iris," now merged in the larger appellation of Letchworth Park.

At some time in 1859, Mr. Letchworth was invited to membership in a club, called "The Nameless," which a few young men of congenial tastes had formed in Buffalo within the previous year. In most circumstances this would not have been an occurrence that called for biographical mention; but it proved to be of no small influence on the life recorded here, because of the important friendships to which it led. The club had grown out of evening gatherings in the pleasant library of the Young Men's Christian Union (as the Y. M. C. A. was first named) attracted to it by the charm of the personality of its then librarian, David Gray. Its members were among the earliest to enjoy the delightful hospitalities which their new companion was now making ready to offer to his friends. For several years, beginning in 1860, they were summoned to celebrate the Fourth of July at the Glen; and out of those congenial gatherings

came some of the earliest and most perfect of the many poems which Glen Iris, first and last, has inspired. Possibly it would be an extravagance of eulogy to say that no other spot in America has been celebrated equally to it in the fervor and the quality of the verse it has called out; yet searching criticism might uphold that suggestion, on the evidence of a collected volume of Glen Iris verse which was printed under the title of "Voices of the Glen," in 1876, and of which a new edition, with added poems, has been issued since Mr. Letchworth's death by the administrator of his estate, but under the auspices of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society. The preparation of this new edition was one of Mr. Letchworth's last tasks.

The valley of the Genesee, especially in the middle region which embraces Glen Iris, has a remarkably interesting early history, from the time of the white man's first acquaintance with it until he took it from the red man and made it his own. It was the seat of the Seneca Nation, the westernmost of the tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy; and the Senecas were active allies of the British and the Tories in the Revolutionary War. Events connected with that war, especially with Sullivan's expedition against the Senecas, in 1779, and subsequently with the buying of the Seneca lands and the removal of the tribe from the region, put the stamp of historic interest on many places in the neighborhood of Mr. Letchworth's home. He was troubled on finding that relics and mementos of the aboriginal possessors of the valley, still existing, were treated with neglect and were fast disappearing. As soon as he became free, in some degree, from immediately pressing demands on him, he made it part of his public duty to repair this neglect, to the extent that he could do so, by action of his own and by coöperation with others of like mind. In these undertakings

he had much encouragement and stimulation from some of his closer friends, especially William C. Bryant, Henry R. Howland and O. H. Marshall, who shared his interest in Indian history.

The most interesting historical relic in the Genesee Valley was the ancient Council House of the Seneca Nation, which stood about eighteen miles from Glen Iris, in the village of Caneadea. For many years after the Senecas left the Genesee Country this building, of hewn logs, which had been their parliament house,—their capitol,—supplied a habitation to the white farmer who tilled the surrounding land. It had long been out of use, however, and was falling into decay, when Mr. Letchworth, in the fall of 1871, acquired title to it and had it removed, for preservation, to his own grounds.

Having restored to its historic dignity this primitive parliament-house of an extinct nation, Mr. Letchworth was fortunately able to attach a new distinction to it and a final memory, by bringing about, on the 1st of October, 1872, a remarkable assembly of representative Senecas and Mohawks, descendants from famous chiefs and notable personages in Indian history, to light once more the council fire in the ancient hall, and sit round it in grave exchange of speech, as in the ancient days.

The removal of the ancient Seneca Council House to a prominent site in Glen Iris, was but the beginning of proceedings by Mr. Letchworth to save and to bring together, in that same place, what could be saved of the fast disappearing relics of the Senecas, in the time of their lordship on and around the Genesee. Presently, a log house or cabin that had been built by Mary Jemison (the captive "White Woman" who is a notable figure in Seneca history) while she lived on the Gardeau Tract, for one of her married

daughters, was brought over and placed near the Council House, at the entrance of an enclosure which holds both. Then, on the 7th of March, 1874, the remains of Mary Jemison were disinterred from the Indian Mission burial ground at Buffalo and deposited in a new grave, between the two buildings just named.

Mr. Letchworth became so deeply interested in the story of the strange experiences of Mary Jemison, whose parents, two brothers and a sister were slain, and herself, when a child, carried into captivity, at the outbreak of the French and Indian War, in 1755, that he published three editions of her life, as narrated from her own account of it by James E. Seaver, of Batavia, N. Y., and given to print, first, in 1824. Moreover, in the last year of his life, on the 19th of September, 1910, he accomplished a long intended tribute to her memory by erecting, near her final grave, at Glen Iris, a statue in bronze, which represents her as a young woman, in the Indian garb, carrying on her back an infant child. She had borne children to two Indian husbands, and has left numerous descendants in Western New York.

The old Seneca Council House and the Mary Jemison grave were substantially the beginnings of an extensive collection of objects connected with Indian history and archæology. With effective assistance from Mr. Henry R. Howland, Mrs. Asher Wright, and other friends, Mr. Letchworth acquired, during the next thirty or more years, a very large and scientifically valuable store of archæological relics, illustrating the primitive arts of the North American Indians, together with objects interesting as memorials of the aboriginal history of the Genesee Valley and Western New York. For the housing of most of these a practically fire-proof building, sheathed with iron and roofed with

slate, was erected in 1898, within the Council House grounds. In this they were scientifically arranged, with much care, by Mr. Howland, and the collection received the appropriate name of the Genesee Valley Museum. A "Guide" to the Museum, prepared by Mr. Howland and printed in 1907, states that it "contains about five thousand exhibits of stone implements, weapons, articles of dress, ornaments, ancient articles of copper, brass and iron, found upon the sites of old Indian villages, and other interesting specimens related to Indian life and customs, many of which have been deposited here for safe-keeping."

As one of the founders and supporters of the Buffalo Historical Society, organized in 1862, Mr. Letchworth was always identified actively and earnestly with the society's work. He was its president in 1878-79, and his address on retiring from the office was devoted in the main to a report of what had been and was being done by William C. Bryant, O. H. Marshall, himself, and others, to bring about a removal of the remains of Red Jacket, and other chiefs of the Senecas, to the Forest Lawn Cemetery of Buffalo, from the burial ground of the Cattaraugus Reservation, where the identification of them seemed likely to be lost. The councillors of the nation had assented to this removal, and it was accomplished not long afterward, under the auspices of the Historical Society. Ultimately a fine statue of Red Jacket was erected on the plot of ground which holds these remains.

Early in 1873 Mr. Letchworth withdrew from all connection with the firm of Pratt & Letchworth, having deliberately resolved to devote his remaining years to philanthropic work. He was in his prime, at fifty years of age; the business which he dropped was highly prosperous and profitable; he had accumulated no great fortune in it, but

there were safe promises of large wealth in what he gave up. To secure needed rest, or a pleasure-seeking freedom of life, many men in like circumstances may do as he did; but to quit the labors of the counting-room in mid-life, and at the crest of prosperity, renouncing their substantial rewards in order to take up an increased burden of labor, for no other reward than the satisfaction of doing good to one's fellow men, is surely a rare act.

It does not appear that any definite place or plan of labor in the field he wished to enter was in Mr. Letchworth's mind when he retired from the business that had occupied him for twenty-five years; but the place which seemed made for him was awaiting his acceptance of it, and he was called to it almost at once. In April, 1873, on the suggestion of his name by the Honorable James O. Putnam to Governor Dix, he was asked to become one of the commissioners of the New York State Board of Charities, filling a vacancy in the representation of the Eighth Judicial District (western New York), and he readily accepted the post. At about the same time he was offered the Republican nomination for Congress in the district of his country residence, where the nomination ensured election; but that proffer he declined. Neither tastes nor ambitions drew him toward public service in the political field.

The Board of State Commissioners of Public Charities—commonly referred to as the State Board of Charities—was in its seventh year of existence when Mr. Letchworth became a member. The rearing of children in county poor-houses and city almshouses was the most serious of the evil conditions that had been engaging the attention of the Board since its work began. Public interest in the matter had been undergoing a slow awakening for several years, and a gradual movement of reformation was in progress;

but it needed a push of individual energy, with a resolute will behind it, to break the impediments down. Mr. Letchworth supplied that need. He seems to have resolved at once to make this, in a special way, his first field of work, and it was so assigned to him by the Board. He began his undertakings in Erie County, with such energy and local support that the last of the children in the poor-house of that county, except infants and the imbecile or otherwise defective, were removed in February, 1874, to orphanages or family homes.

Seemingly Erie County was the first in the state to purge its poorhouse of the pauperizing and corrupting mixture of children with adults. Elsewhere the reformation movement was slow in response to the strenuous pressure upon it which the new State Commissioner of Charities was bringing to bear. Eight months after the Erie County deliverance he wrote to Secretary Hoyt, of the State Board, that he had received reports of action on the removal of children by boards of supervisors in only three other counties, namely, Jefferson, Madison, and Yates. Throughout that year he had been laboring as no other official in the state is likely to have been laboring at the time. His correspondence discloses the intensity and ardor of feeling that went into his work; his special report to the Board, at the end of the year, shows how big a task of inquiry and investigation he had performed, and what a mass of information he had gathered up. He was executing a mission that engaged his whole heart. He strove to torment all consciences with his own burning sense of the deadly wrong done to homeless children by housing and classing them with pauperized adults. He could not bear the thought of allowing a single child to be so ruined when it might be saved.

The special report submitted by Commissioner Letch-

worth at the close of the year 1874 showed the number of children remaining in the poorhouses of the state at the several dates of inquiry, in that year, to be 615, of whom 362 were boys and 253 were girls. The infants under two years of age numbered 143. Of the remainder, 348 were between two and ten years of age; 124 were from ten to fifteen in years. The fathers of 329 and the mothers of 115 were known to be intemperate; 32 were known to be descendants of pauper grandfathers; 47 of pauper grandmothers; 105 of pauper fathers; 441 of pauper mothers; 249 had brothers and 223 had sisters who were or had been paupers; 204 were of illegitimate birth; 190 were born in the poorhouse. Thoughtfully discussing the exhibit of dreadful facts, Mr. Letchworth laid an impressive stress on the deadliness of the effect on character in childhood which must be produced by such pauperizing examples and influences as a poorhouse surrounds them with.

Thus far in the undertaking to bring about a removal of dependent children from association with adult paupers there had been nothing but persuasion and some pressure of public opinion to bring to bear on the local authorities concerned. Now Commissioner Letchworth invoked the aid of mandatory law, and secured, on the recommendation of his Board, the passage of an Act which declared that after January 1, 1876, no child over three and under sixteen years of age, of proper intelligence and suited for family care should be committed or sent to any county poorhouse of the state, and that all children of this class then in the county poorhouses should, within the time named, be removed from such poorhouses and provided for in families, asylums, or other appropriate institutions.

With this backing of positive law and the hearty coöperation of his colleagues in the State Board of Charities, Com-

missioner Letchworth, in his special mission of child-saving from pauperism, had only to contend thereafter with difficulties in some counties that arose from a present deficiency of institutions to which the pauper children could be removed. He had satisfied himself that, generally throughout the state, the required transfers could be made without overtaxing the capacity of existing asylums, etc., provided that proper exertions were made systematically at the asylums to place their children in families—which ought to be the constant aim. This now gave him a new special duty—to inspire earnestness and energy in the work of securing good family homes for the homeless children of the state, to the end that no public asylum for such children, of good promise in body and mind, should be conducted otherwise than as an agency for their early introduction to family life in reputable private homes.

The remarkable effectiveness of Mr. Letchworth's work as a commissioner of the State Board of Charities was now recognized by all who gave attention to the governmental dealing with want and misdoing. They saw that a new force had come into that field of official service, and they welcomed it with acclaim. For example, the very eminent sociologist, Dr. Elisha Harris, then Corresponding Secretary of the Prison Association of New York, afterward Secretary of the State Board of Health, wrote to Mr. Letchworth in March, 1875: "Your study of the rights of children and of our duty to them and the state is worth a lifetime of toil. You have thrown such a true light on the almshouse children that the doors of good homes and the hearts of thoughtful citizens and good women will open and bless them." Six months later we find Dr. Harris writing again: "It is by such persistent efforts as yours for the friendless children that causes of crime and vice are to

be repressed. It is not in the power of language to convey my thanks for your service in this matter."

Political influences in New York City offered determined resistance to the law requiring children to be removed from almshouses, and strove with might and main to obtain from the legislature an act exempting the institutions on Randall's Island from its operation; but Mr. Letchworth had conducted investigations there which showed that the conditions in those institutions were the worst in the state. Armed with damning facts he gave battle to the politicians of the metropolis, and succeeded, as he succeeded almost always, in defeating opposition from ignorant sources or sinister motives to measures and undertakings which he believed, on well-studied grounds, to be for the public good.

This was the second demonstration that Commissioner Letchworth, in his official service, had given of the very potent and peculiar executive force he possessed. One of the mildest, most gently mannered of men,—Quaker-bred, and realizing in his whole character the ideals of that culture of the quiet spirit,—he was capable, nevertheless, at need, of an iron determination in what he undertook to do, and a persistence which never tired, never yielded to discouragement, and rarely suffered defeat. His first exhibit of those qualities was called out soon after he took his seat in the State Board of Charities. The Board was then becoming an object of attacks, inspired evidently by the manipulators of party politics, who had discovered that it might be made a useful instrument in their hands. The enlarged powers conferred on it in 1873 appear to have equipped it to their liking, as a piece of machinery for political work, and they lost no time in starting measures for bringing it under their control. An account of what

occurred was written subsequently by Mr. Letchworth, as follows :

"As I was coming down Main street, in Buffalo, one morning in the early part of 1874, I met Mr. Joseph Warren, editor of the *Buffalo Courier*, who had just left the train after a night's ride from Albany. He informed me that action had been taken in the Senate the day before to abolish the State Board of Charities. I asked him upon what grounds. He could not tell me, but supposed it was in consequence of some irregularities. I told him that this was not possible, in view of the personnel of the Board and lack of opportunity on the part of the commissioners for deriving any personal advantage from their office. He had given little attention to the matter, but, as he then recalled what he had heard, there was some whispered scandal connected with the movement.

"I went immediately to Albany and, seeking the president of the Board [Mr. John V. L. Pruyn], asked him the meaning of the attack. He could only divine that it was a political movement to bring the Board eventually under partisan control, as were the state prisons, over which there was but one superintendent. The movement had such backing that Mr. Pruyn thought nothing could be done. He had heard from several members of the Board, who expressed themselves as excessively chagrined and mortified, and declared their intention to resign. I told the president that I had not sought this office; that I had endeavored to discharge my duties faithfully during the short time I had held it; that I regarded this action as a reflection on my integrity, and that I should not rest quietly under it, but should demand an official investigation. He sympathized with the members of the Board in their chagrin, but did not feel like entering into an angry controversy over the action taken. He said, however, that he would sanction every effort I might make to protect the Board. With this assurance from the president I entered upon the campaign.

"Senator Ganson, of Buffalo, a man of high character and a leader of one of the political parties, and Senator King, leader of the opposite political party and chairman of the Senate finance committee,—a man of benevolent impulses,—espoused the cause of the Board on the floor of the

Senate and were supported by others. The Board was finally vindicated and the charges were withdrawn, leaving it stronger than when the attack was made.

"This issue having been set aside, I asked the chairman of the finance committee to insert in the appropriation bill an item of \$3000 for the use of the Board in making an inquiry into the causes of pauperism and crime,—something it had been authorized to do by the previous legislature, but for which no appropriation had been made, and nothing had been done. The chairman of the committee, who was a friend of the Board, advised me not to ask for this grant, in view of the recent attack on the Board, and, though consenting to do this if I insisted, wished me to understand that he would not be responsible for the consequences. The appropriation was inserted, however, at my request, in the supply bill, and was approved by the committee."

Thus the Quaker member of the Board, no more than fairly seated in it, was the one to spring to its defence and find cudgels for beating off the attack. Not only that, but the encounter roused him to push forward and snatch a positive trophy of victory from the discomfited assailants of the Board, in the form of an increased appropriation for its work. It was a striking revelation that he gave then of the reinforcement of energy, courage, earnestness, and sound practical judgment which his appointment had brought into the important body that supervises the public charities of the state. Without self-assertion or assumption on his part, there was a natural and necessary leadership in what he did, which had recognition very soon in his election (June, 1874) to the vice-presidency of the Board, and to the presidency in 1877.

Substantially, so far as concerned his own state, the child-saving labors of Mr. Letchworth in this particular field were finished by the year 1876. The finest tribute paid to the great importance and effectiveness of the social service rendered in those labors came many years afterwards

from an intelligent head of the finance department of the City of New York, where they had been most obstinately and violently opposed. Comptroller Edward M. Grout, in an official report on "Private Charitable Institutions in the City of New York," made in 1904, referred to this part of Mr. Letchworth's work as follows:

"In the early seventies charity workers, impressed with the iniquity of the almshouse system, determined to effect a change. A crusade against almshouses—for it may properly be called that—found its leader in the Honorable William P. Letchworth, of Portage, New York, one of the indefatigable workers in the State Board of Charities. It is fair to call him the father of the movement to take children out of the degrading conventions in poorhouses and almshouses."

After extended quotations from Mr. Letchworth's reports the comptroller goes on to say:

"The result of Mr. Letchworth's work was tremendous and overwhelming. The legislature asked,—'What can be done with these children, and where can they be placed?' Fresh from his examination of every institution in the State, Mr. Letchworth replied that the private institutions were the natural and logical way out. . . . There appeared to be no other satisfactory solution to the problem. The city determined, definitely, either to turn all its dependent children over to the charitable institutions or return them to their parents and guardians. . . . The last of the children were transferred from Randall's Island December 31, 1875; and in the report of the Commissioners for that year, presented to the mayor early in 1876, the whole matter was summed up in these words: "The Nursery on Randall's Island, by act of the legislature, was abolished with the close of the year, and it is prohibited by law to receive children over three years of age."

This emphatic official testimony from the metropolitan city affords conclusive evidence that the fight to rescue children from pauper-keeping establishments in the State of

New York was fought and won by Commissioner Letchworth, as the general commanding the reformatory forces in the state; and that it was won practically within the first three years of his service in the field.

But, while this finished his exertions on that particular child-saving line in New York, it carried him on the same line into other fields of struggle, to the same end. He was called to become a missionary in other states of the appeal against child-pauperism, and performed heavy labors in that mission for a number of years.

At the same time Commissioner Letchworth was now turning his special attention to that other important field of child-saving work, wherein the subjects are children already approaching or beginning vicious or criminal lives,—the wayward, the errant, the delinquent of many classes and many degrees, for whom there is hope of rescue and reform if wise and timely treatment is applied. With the appeal to his sympathy and interest from these unfortunates came another, which moved him simultaneously to ardent efforts for bringing more intelligence and humanity into the care of the insane. In these matters he found more of problem than in the subjects of his previous work, and he sought light from all that experience, practice or theory, abroad as well as at home, could afford. Hence, from July, 1880, until the following January, he was in Europe, not for rest or for pleasure, but on a mission of inquiry and observation, the most strenuous that his enlistment in social service had yet moved him to undertake. His special purpose was to see how other countries dealt with delinquent children and how they treated their insane, and thus to learn what they might have to teach with helpfulness to the solving of the two problems in public benevolence which now claimed the most of his thought.

From his observations abroad it is certain that Mr. Letchworth brought much that cleared his understanding, instructed his judgment, broadened and deepened his thought concerning the grave and difficult matter of so dealing with errant youth as to train it into better courses; but the cardinal convictions of his mind on this subject were those which the *Rauhe Haus* of Immanuel Wichern, at Hamburg, Germany, and its varied copies elsewhere, had impressed upon him. For a time it became his chief mission to plead for the transformation of juvenile "houses of refuge" and similar so-called reformatories from grim prisons into systematized industrial schools; for the tearing away of their stone walls; for the transplanting of them into open country surroundings; for the grouping and cottage-housing of their pupil inmates, under some semblance of the associations of a common family life; and (before all else) for a careful classification of juvenile delinquents, to part the uncorrupted from the corrupt. In this mission he was urging no propositions from his own mind. It was never his way to rest a recommendation that he offered to the public on a merely theoretical idea. All the problems in public philanthropy that he dealt with were studied in the light of such experiments and experiences as applied a sure test to the theory from which they sprang.

His investigations to that end were the most remarkable part of his work. No time, no labor, no travel, no sacrifice of his personal comfort was too much for him to give to the searching out and inspecting of institutions and of laws which had object lessons of method to offer, with conclusive provings of result. He was unmatched among social workers in that effectual study, and therefore unmatched as a public teacher on the vital subjects which he prepared himself to speak upon with high authority. The authority of

his opinion on these matters was recognized, because the carefulness of the quest which went before the opinion was always plain. Hence, it can safely be said that the influence of Mr. Letchworth, beyond any other personal influence in the last generation, has entered into the producing of a wholly different public opinion at the present day, touching the public treatment of dependent and delinquent children, compared with that of the time when he began his work as a commissioner in the Board of Charities of the State of New York.

Similarly, in relation to the care and treatment of the insane, the important effect of his well-directed great labor came from its collection and dissemination of knowledge, as to the best that had been done anywhere in the performance of that humane duty; the successes of experiment, and the failures; the proved possibilities of unrestraint, of social freedom and enjoyment, of soothing and curative influences brought to bear on disordered minds, and the institutional construction and organization that had been found to contribute most to the realizing of those possibilities. Principally and most effectively this was done by Mr. Letchworth in his elaborate and important report of the studies he had made in Europe, beautifully published in 1889, in a royal octavo volume of 374 pages, under the title of "The Insane in Foreign Countries." The admirable quality of this treatise, the supreme importance of the matters with which it dealt and the high value of the enlightenment it threw upon them, were recognized at once by those qualified for the recognition. Leading alienists at home and abroad gave it a specially cordial reception.

More immediate and notable effects of reform in the care and treatment of the insane were produced by the personal exertions of Mr Letchworth, before his book on the

subject appeared. At once, on his return from Europe, he obtained from the State Board of Charities the appointment of himself and another Commissioner as a committee to visit and report on the condition of the insane department of poorhouses in counties exempted, under the Act of 1871, from a previous statute requiring all chronic insane to be transferred to the Willard Asylum, at Ovid. The report of this committee, when published, started an agitation which grew and gathered force until it had compelled the State, by the "State Care Act" of 1890, to take on itself, wholly and exclusively, the care of the insane within its borders, and to equip itself adequately with institutions to that end.

In 1888 Mr. Letchworth resigned the presidency of the State Board of Charities, in which he had been kept by repeated elections for eleven years. In January, 1893, he received his fourth consecutive appointment to membership in the Board. A little later, that year, on the 9th of February, a mark of distinction so high that few have ever received it came to him from the University of the State of New York, by vote of the Regents of the University, conferring on him the degree of LL. D., "in recognition of his distinguished services to the State of New York, as a member and president of the State Board of Charities and as an author of most valuable literature pertaining to the dependent classes." In the one hundred and ten years of its existence at that date the Board of Regents had conferred this honorary degree only twenty times.

On the 14th of November, 1896, by resignation to the Governor, the long service of Mr. Letchworth to the State of New York as a Commissioner of Charities was brought to an end. His enlistment in the service of suffering humanity was not ended, however, until his death.

After Mr. Letchworth's withdrawal from the service of the state there were years of work in his life, performed in the same field. He had surrendered official authority, but needed none to maintain the power of influence with which he could still labor for the unfortunates of mankind who need public care. He was released from tasks of supervision and inspection which had occupied great parts of his time, and could devote himself more to studies and discussions of the large problems of public philanthropy. The most important of these were now directed to the benefit of the victims of epilepsy,—a large class of pitiful sufferers who had experienced, in our country especially, more and longer neglect than any other whose affliction appealed as painfully to the sympathies of their fellow men. He had become deeply interested in these unfortunates some years before, and had taken a leading part in the movement, initiated by the writings of Dr. Frederick Peterson of New York, which had already produced the notable Craig Colony for Epileptics at Sonyea, near Mount Morris, in the Genesee Valley. A documentary history of the whole course of proceedings connected with the founding of this first colony for epileptics in the State of New York was compiled by Mr. Letchworth in his last years. The record shows him quite distinctly to have been the persistent spirit in the movement, throughout; pricking it to action when it lagged, and rousing it to fresh aggressiveness when it had been stricken with discouragement by a Governor's veto in 1892.

His sense of duty to the victims of epilepsy was far from satisfied by this achievement. Pursuing inquiries in all parts of the country, he found practically nothing done for epileptics in a large majority of the states, or nothing that was fitting to their case. He recognized, therefore, an

extremely urgent need of information to the public of the nation, as to the dreadful extent of this neglect, and what it meant of suffering to thousands of individuals and of grave consequences to society at large. The situation was one of which few people, even in the medical profession, appear to have had clear knowledge. The facts of it had never been gathered up and put forth collectively, in a form to be impressive in effect. He determined now to take on himself the task of assembling this needed information from its many sources, printed and unprinted, and making it available for use in stirring public feeling on the subject. He had done something in that direction already, in two papers prepared for the National Conference of Charities and Correction. He now undertook a work of thoroughness on the lines that were sketched in those essays. The book, entitled "Care and Treatment of Epileptics," was published in the same admirable style as that of "The Insane in Foreign Countries," with appropriate and interesting illustrations, by the Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, early in 1900. Reviews of it in the medical journals at home and abroad were universally commendatory. Two years prior to the publication of the book, a "National Association for the Study of Epilepsy and the Care and Treatment of Epileptics" had been organized, with Mr. Letchworth as its first President, and the first volume of its "Transactions" was edited by him and published at his expense.

When, in 1909, the State of New York framed final legislation for the establishing, near the Hudson, of a second Colony for Epileptics, on a scale even larger than that of Craig Colony, its legislature enacted that this great institution should bear "the name and title of 'Letchworth Village,' in honor of William Pryor Letchworth of Portage, New

York, whose efficient public services in behalf of the feeble-minded, epileptic, and other dependent unfortunates the state desires to commemorate."

Early in 1898 a project of sordid menace to Glen Iris came to light, and the peace of the Glen's good master and devoted lover was tormented by it thenceforward until his death. Avaricious capital had planned to exploit the falls of the Genesee for electric power, and the Legislature, in the spring of 1898, had before it a bill which granted the needed authority. Details of the long defensive struggle which has thus far saved the choicest beauty-spot of the state from destruction cannot be given here. It was made decisive in the first month of 1907, by a gift to the State of New York of the entire Glen Iris estate, covering about one thousand acres of land, on both sides of the Genesee, and embracing the Lower as well as the Middle and Upper Falls of the river. Before deciding to make the tender of this splendid domain to the State, Mr. Letchworth had studied how best to secure for it a faithful caretaking in future years. In doing this he became attentive to the mission and work of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, founded by Andrew H. Green, the father of New York City's Central Park, and incorporated in 1895. The result, after conferences with the trustees of the Society, was a proposal of the gift to the state, for the purposes of a public park or reservation, subject to the proviso that Mr. Letchworth should retain a life use and tenancy, with the right further to improve the property, and that upon his death the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society should have the management and control. The proposal, recommended strongly by Governor Hughes, was accepted by Act of the Legislature, following which, by concurrent resolution of the Senate, February 4,

1907, and of the Assembly, February 5, it was declared that the lands conveyed to the state by Mr. Letchworth should hereafter be known as "Letchworth Park," "to commemorate the humane and noble work in private and public charities to which his life has been devoted, and in recognition of his eminent services to the people of this state."

Almost, if not quite, from the beginning of Mr. Letchworth's ownership of Glen Iris it had been his intention that it should go to a public use when he died. As early as 1870 he had procured legislation which "constituted and appointed a body corporate for the purpose of establishing and maintaining in the County of Wyoming an institution for the support and education of indigent young persons," and named it the Wyoming Benevolent Institute. This, without doubt, was an instrument of organization made ready, with wise precaution, in advance, for employment in due time. Its legal vitality was preserved with care; certain land and buildings were conveyed to it; it entertained orphaned children from Buffalo and Rochester in summer outings at times; and, though nothing that attempted the fulfilment of its declared purpose ever came from it, the purpose itself, "of establishing and maintaining in the County of Wyoming an institution for the support and education of indigent young persons," does not appear to have undergone any change. It seems, therefore, to be manifest that when Mr. Letchworth, to save Glen Iris from becoming the seat of an electric power plant, gave it into the keeping of the state, for the purposes of a public park or reservation, he simply changed its destination from one long-intended public use to another.

The life-tenancy which his deed of gift reserved to him had a longer term for Mr. Letchworth than might have

been expected; for he had been a maimed and weakened man since the 14th of February, 1903, when he was smitten with a partial paralysis of body, which had little effect on his mind. Gradually regaining some measure of strength and a feeble use of his limbs, he became busied again, not with any new undertakings in the former lines of his public work, but in some endeavors to enlarge the fruitfulness of what he had done, as well as in renewed attention to his private affairs, and in attempts to reduce his enormous accumulation of letters and papers to an orderly state. This and the planning and executing at his own expense of continued works of landscape improvement on the Glen Iris grounds, even after they had become the grounds of a public park, occupied him until the actually last day of his life. That day was the 1st of December, 1910. When its evening came he partook of his usual light supper, and said, presently, that he would take a rest. His nurse assisted him to his bed in an adjoining room, and had left him but a few moments when she heard some sound which caused her to return. She found that in those moments his life had come to its end. He had left it as quietly as if passing into sleep. Five days later his body had burial in the Forest Lawn Cemetery at Buffalo.

In appearance and demeanor Mr. Letchworth realized always the ideal of a true representative of the Society of Friends, moulded outwardly by the inward moulding of Christian teaching as construed by George Fox. And this could raise no expectation of the resolution, the will, the energy which went with his benevolent quietude of spirit into all that he undertook to do.

Nothing that he undertook had been taken hastily in hand. He set his foot in no path until he knew fully the ground to be traversed in it, as well as the end to which it

led, and saw clearly the right and the need or the good reason for going forward therein. Pending these determinations of his mind he showed often much hesitancy and seeming indecisiveness of will ; but when the light he sought had been obtained, and the practicable way to a desirable and right object of endeavor could be seen distinctly, he became, in his quiet way, one of the most inflexibly determined of men,—undiscouraged by obstacles, undaunted by opposition.

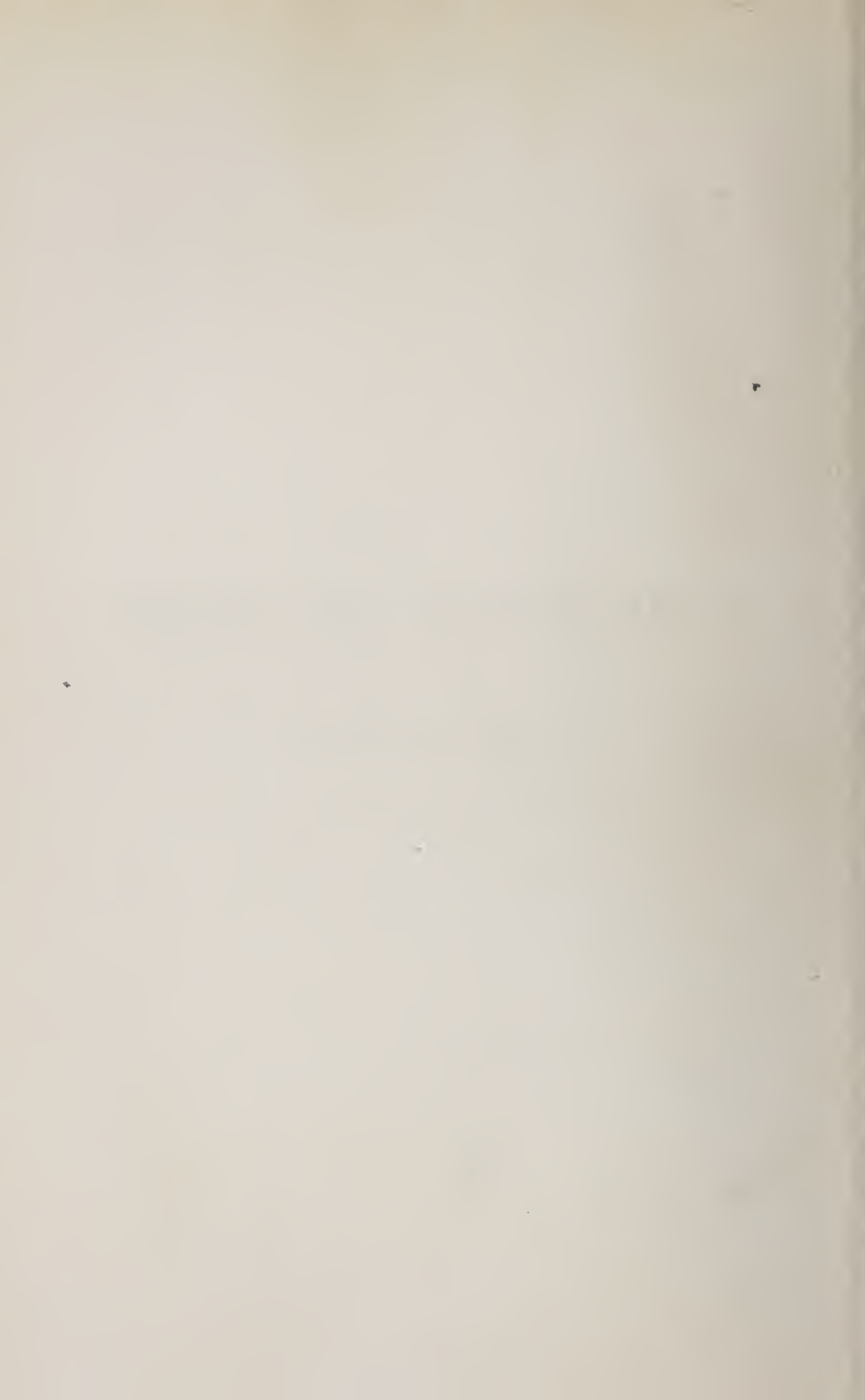
Only those who came into both working and social intimacy with Mr. Letchworth could learn how distinctly his nature united two temperaments which are seldom balanced so evenly in the same individual. To know him in the relations that exhibited but one of these was to think of him, most probably, as a sentimentalist,—a man of too much emotionality for successful dealing with the hardness and aggressiveness of the ruder conditions of life. This, it could easily be thought, would not only explain his philanthropy, but throw doubt on the judgment and efficiency with which its promptings would be directed. And he did have an emotional susceptibility and a delicacy of mind which in most makings of character would warrant that conclusion. His enjoyments were of the sweeter and gentler sort. The lovelier sides of nature, the finer things of art, the generous exhibitions of humanity, appealed to him most. He was exceptionally fond of poetry, and with a catholic taste ; delighted in reading it and having it read to him, and carried in memory a large store of it, which he had begun to accumulate in his youth.

To know him in this character, and to have acquaintance, at the same time, with the strenuous business man that he was for thirty years and the strong state official that he was for twenty-three more,—vigilant, decisive, resolute, prac-

tically sagacious, successful beyond the common, in both exhibitions,—was to have a revelation of character that is exceedingly rare in its combination of qualities, and exceedingly fine.

LARS GUSTAV SELLSTEDT

By HENRY WARE SPRAGUE





LARS G. SELLSTEDT, AS PAINTED BY HIMSELF.

FROM THE ORIGINAL PAINTING IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BUFFALO FINE ARTS
ACADEMY.

LARS GUSTAV SELLSTEDT

READ AT A MEETING OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ON TUESDAY EVENING, APRIL 30, 1912.

By HENRY WARE SPRAGUE

We come together tonight to celebrate the ninety-third birthday of Lars Gustav Sellstedt—who, born in Sweden April 30, 1819, after many years of wandering up and down the earth, in 1845 made Buffalo his home, and from that time until his death, on the 4th of last June, dwelt among us one of our most distinguished, honored and beloved citizens, and dedicated his high talents to develop in this community a love of the things of the spirit as exemplified in art.

I say “celebrate,” for surely this is not the hour for mourning. Rather let us rejoice that fate bestowed upon us this fine life, to be with us and to enrich our lives for so many years, and to implant so much of the ideal into the materialism of a crude American frontier town. This man, in bodily presence and outward seeming, has left us forever. His interesting, unique and charming personality has ceased to be. Never again shall we clasp that warm hand and look into those bright eyes and hear that rich voice which met us with such cordial and affectionate greeting. That hand has vanished and the sound of that voice is stilled. A void and an irreparable loss are the

result; and yet, somehow, there is more of joy than sorrow in the retrospect. Death is so inevitable that when it comes, in due course of nature, we learn to bow to it with a stoical submission; so at this hour, while facing this solemn fact, still, remembering, as we do, that bright, interesting and fruitful life, how to it was allotted over four score years and ten, how that life was the very embodiment of light-hearted joy and happiness, and filled to the brim and flowing over with the zest and enjoyment of living, surely the picture left upon the memory is a pleasant and cheerful one. He of all men loved the gay, the festive and the joyous. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to celebrate an anniversary and upon all such occasions to make good cheer. So, surely, it would be his wish that as his friends join here to pay tribute to his memory, the note we should strike should be pitched to a pæan rather than a dirge.

Now my pleasant task is to attempt, by a pen picture, to bring our friend back to us as he lived and moved and had his being among us; to describe his outward and visible seeming, and those traits of mind, heart and character which distinguished him and made him what he was; to tell of his position and what he stood for in the intellectual, social and artistic life of Buffalo; what he accomplished as a painter and his great work for the furtherance of art in our midst; and to interweave just enough of the story of his life to portray the effect of his inheritance and surroundings in molding and fashioning his mind and character.

His history has been related by himself in that extraordinary autobiography, "From Forecastle to Studio." I say extraordinary advisedly, for to my mind this book, in certain respects, is unique in the annals of biography. The world has been looking for years for some man's honest

account of his own life. Rousseau's was hailed as such, but when reading him you feel that he is posing in his very attempt to be frank. So, as you peruse tale after tale of the lives of noted men, as related by themselves, you are conscious that they are putting the best foot foremost and are eager that the record of their lives should be freed from stain and blemish or that there is an evident and conscious effort toward frankness. Constantly is it apparent that these writers have continually the thought, what will be the effect of their chronicle upon the reader. Now Mr. Sellstedt's story of his life, his early years at home, his family and friends and particularly his fourteen years of voyages on the high seas and the great lakes as a sailor before the mast, starting as a lad of twelve, his adventures, his ambitions, hopes and aims, the temptations to which he yielded and those he overcame, is told with a frankness so complete, and at times almost brutal, that, as you read some paragraphs it is hard to believe that he is actually talking about himself. All this grew out of certain traits of character which are seldom met with in our intercourse with our fellowmen. He had about him what Matthew Arnold has described as

"The freshness of the early world."

With a perfectly normal and healthy physique there was united an equally strong normal and healthy mind, which thought straight and saw clear, and was utterly devoid of any morbid or pedantic tendencies. Always, in every thought and action, he was incapable of any indirection. Great and tender-hearted, sympathetic, loyal and kind, the frankness and bluntness with which he spoke his mind impressed you with the fact that here was a man whose speech was the perfect record of his thought.

Sundsvall, his native place, is a seaport of the Gulf of Bothnia on the east coast of Sweden. The gulf lets out on to the Baltic and from thence the ships may pass to the North Sea, the Atlantic, and so on over the waters of the world. From time immemorial until the invention of the steam locomotive the dwellers by the sea have had means of access to and communication with the entire planet unknown to their inland brothers. This gave them a greater knowledge of

Cities of men and manners, climates, councils, governments, and with it a breadth of thought and a range of vision not readily attained by those living far away from the coast. So it was at Sundsvall. Ships from that port carried the famous pine lumber to lands scattered all over the world and returned laden with the natural and manufactured products of every clime. You can imagine the little boy Lars, like *Amyas Leigh* at Biddeford, listening to the strange tales of these sailormen of all they had seen and done in distant countries and having his infant soul fired with ambition to

“Sail beyond the sunset and the baths of all the western stars”
into the great unknown.

His childhood was passed in most propitious surroundings. His paternal grandfather was a manufacturer of wealth and distinction. His mother, a clergyman's daughter, was a woman of great force of character, somewhat stern in discipline, but affectionately devoted to her children and ambitious for their education and progress. Our friend says of her, “Notwithstanding her uncompromising code of right and wrong, even in the smallest matters, I loved her intensely. She was of a kind disposition, benevolent, hospitable and deeply pious, nor was her piety at all gloomy;

in her younger days she greatly loved all innocent amusement, was a member of an amateur club, where her fine voice in ballad singing was highly esteemed; she also danced, read novels, and in short enjoyed life in every way comfortable with respectable society." He speaks of his father as being a "worldly, good natured man, whose principal amusement was fishing." "Our family life," he says, "was, as I remember, happy and harmonious. The house was large and commodious; the lower story contained our business room, kitchen and living room, while the great rooms in the upper story were devoted almost exclusively to festal occasions. One of these was never used, except for balls or large parties, while the other was the usual place where our great dinners were given. Though habitually frugal in our family life, no expense was spared then, and it was far from uncommon to have thirty or forty guests for dinner."

Much care was bestowed upon the boy's education, and his attitude toward "book learning" was that of most hearty, healthy, bright youngsters. He studied Latin, Greek, French, German, grammar, mathematics, geography, etc. At times he was attentive, diligent, and a model scholar, and at other times, according to his own account, he was just the reverse. With his quick mind and retentive memory, he readily learned his tasks, and when the subjects attracted him made fine progress. If, however, the matter in hand failed to interest him, it received his scornful neglect. So he scrambled along through his classes and his childhood days, a hearty, happy-go-lucky, fun-loving, enterprising, mischievous lad. In 1828 his father died and two years afterwards, when the boy was eleven years of age, his mother married a second time. This stepfather, according to his stepson's account, possessed a hard and tyrannical

disposition and a mutual dislike and antagonism sprang up between them. The boy felt that the man was an interloper and usurper of the goodly heritage of the family. The culmination of the trouble is thus described: "In the spring of 1831, I was ill-treated beyond endurance by my stepfather for what he was pleased to call an offence, though I never in my mature life could see that it was an offence to cut a sapling growing from the root of a mountain ash to make a fish pole for a small boy. He took the sapling and wore it out on my back. As I considered the property mine, and him a usurper, my anger and indignation overcame my pain and I recall no humiliating appeals for mercy; but the injury having been afflicted, I immediately went to my mother and informed her of my resolution to go to sea, and in less than a month I was on board a small schooner bound for Stockholm." Shortly before his death, when time had reduced that strong frame to the extremity of emaciation and feebleness, but had left untouched his powerful memory and all his tender emotions, he described this encounter with his stepfather with a flushed face and with such energy that it was evident that the lapse of eighty years had not served to weaken his resentment for the bitter wrong he had suffered at that time.

And now begins the "Wanderjahre" and "Lehrjahre" of this, our *Wilhelm Meister*. After his first voyage to Egypt, which lasted eighteen months, he spent the winter of 1834 at home and went to school; but with that exception, beginning as a child only eleven years of age, for fifteen years he was a wanderer on the face of the waters of the world. Think of this child, so tender, so warm hearted, so sensitive, sympathetic and responsive to love and affection, so devoted to his home, his mother and his sister, cast adrift to roam friendless over the earth with no one to care for

him, no one to guide and counsel him, no one to whom he could appeal for help, comfort, sympathy and tender love and care. Thus, before his childhood had ceased, and during the formative period of youth and adolescence and until he had reached mature manhood, he went through a most strange and unusual educational process, and graduated with a great fund of accumulated knowledge, a wealth of experience, and with a character in complete accord with "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." First let me briefly sketch the course of these wanderings and then try to portray the stern and bitter school of experience through which he passed.

His first voyage was for a month only, to Stockholm and return. Next, in the autumn of 1831, the twelve year old youngster shipped as cabin boy for a stormy winter's cruise on a vessel laden with lumber bound for Alexandria. He endured seasickness, wet, cold, beatings, and abuse of every kind. He managed, as cabin boy, to smash enough crockery to consume his munificent wages of \$1.25 a month. The ship passed from Alexandria to Leghorn and Riga, and so home after an absence of eighteen months. In June, 1831, he sailed again as cabin boy on the bark Prudent bound from Stockholm for New York. From the latter port the Prudent sailed to Savanna, and there the lad made his first acquaintance with slavery. From Savanna, the bark took a load of cotton to Marseilles, and then returned to New York. The next voyage was also on the Prudent by way of Malta to Palermo, and so back by way of Bermuda to New York, which was reached December, 1835. The boy then left the Prudent and as he could find no other work, spent some months at a sailor boarding house in New York City.

In March, 1836, although seventeen years of age only, he managed to pass himself off as an able seaman and ever thereafter sailed as such. Then came a voyage to the West Indies, and then employment on a pilot boat off Philadelphia; then a voyage to Port au Prince and Trinidad, de Cuba; then one to Pernambuco in Brazil, where he landed in January, 1837. At Pernambuco he says: "There was at that time a slaver fitting out, and my spirit of adventure prompted me to try for a berth on her, but fortunately the place had been filled before I applied. When I think from how great danger I was saved, both to soul and body, by this failure of my foolish love of romance, I feel that in gratitude to Providence it would be doubly criminal." Next he had a curious five months' voyage on the brig *Helen Mar*, which sailed from Pernambuco, he shipping as cook and steward. The brig sailed to the west coast of Africa on a fishing voyage, bringing the salted fish back to the market of Pernambuco. This voyage was rendered somewhat eventful and rather unpleasant by a too scanty supply of provisions, a too plentiful supply of rum, and a mutiny. Upon his return to Pernambuco he stayed for some time at that port doing odd jobs at sail making, etc. Finally he shipped on a Norwegian bark bound for Rio de Janeiro. The crew spent the entire voyage at the pumps, as the only method of keeping the old hulk upon the surface of the deep. The day after he reached Rio he took a stroll on the beach. He saw a United States man of war just getting under way, and the sudden impulse seized him to try a cruise in a warship. He thus described his sudden and unpremeditated plunge into a new sphere of activity: "The market boat of the Falmouth sloop of war, that I saw getting ready to sail, was at the landing. I asked the crew if they thought I could ship in her. They informed me that

two men had run away the night before and it was likely that I would be received. Just then the midshipman in charge came along. Going up to him, I asked if he thought I could get on board. He said he did not doubt it, but that he could not take me in the boat. If I could get a shore boat to take me off no doubt all would be well. Unfortunately I had no money and I told him so. 'Here,' he said, 'hold your hat; here is a lot of copper that I can do nothing with,' and with that he flung into it a millrais in two-vintine pieces (about sixty cents)." Thus he boarded the *Falmouth*, and with no further thought, consideration, or deliberation, joined the U. S. Navy on a cruise which lasted three years. He sailed around Cape Horn, with the usual rough experiences of that tempestuous voyage. Then on to Valparaiso and Callao. Two years and until 1840 were spent along the coast, once sailing to the island of Juan Fernandez. The homeward voyage was begun in the spring of that year and in June he was paid off at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. After divers and sundry adventures in New York, he shipped for Liverpool, and in the fall reappeared in his native city after an absence of six years. He was then barely twenty-one years old. There he spent the winter, recounting to his relatives and friends the tale of his adventures and having the best of good times. In June of the next year he sailed on a brig from *Elsinor* to Boston, and while waiting at Boston for a ship worked in a rigging loft. Finally he shipped on a small, low-deck schooner for St. Pierre, Martinique, and again spent most of his time at the pumps in a desperate effort to stay above water. He found his way to Havanna. From that port he shipped as mate to New York, and still was constantly at the pumps, which belched forth a mixture of salt water and molasses from the leaky barrels with which

the ship was laden. In New York he concluded he would try his luck upon the great inland seas, and journeyed to Buffalo by boat and rail in 48 hours. He first saw the city which was to be his future home May 12, 1842. He was then twenty-three years of age. With the exception of one trip to Havana he spent the greater part of the next three years sailing upon the lakes and in December, 1845, in his twenty-sixth year, he closed his life as a sailor and settled in Buffalo which was his home for the remaining sixty-five years of his life.

So ended his wanderings. His student days were over. Now, what had he acquired in the way of knowledge, culture and character building at this, his Oxford and his Cambridge, his Harvard and his Yale? Why, he emerged from these twelve years as a common sailor an educated, cultivated man and with the fine attributes of self-knowledge, self-reverence and self-control. Surely an extraordinary result from such a life and such a training. How was it accomplished? Simply by the constant exercise and development of a mind endowed by nature with the qualities of a student. Scholars are born, not made. Take for instance Andrew D. White. As you read his life, you are convinced that he was a scholar by nature as well as by training. So it was with Mr. Sellstedt. It was as natural for him to absorb knowledge as to breathe. He went about the world with his eyes wide open, and with every faculty of his intellect keenly alive,

"To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought."

All was grist to his mill. His acquisitive mind took in information at every pore. He learned from books, which he read with avidity and never forgot, from contact and conversation with men, and from the close observation and

study of the manners, customs and morals of divers races in various parts of the world. He learned to be a first-class sailor and a skillful navigator, and most of all he acquired the habit of learning and of mental concentration, so that he continued to be a student for life. Always was he reading, studying, observing, and filling his mind with rich stores of information and with delightful images, the result of the "shaping power of the imagination" which was so highly developed in him. The painstaking care with which he studied is best illustrated by the way he learned English. It is the rule that absolute proficiency in a foreign tongue can be acquired only by familiar intercourse with it from infancy. There are, however, a few exceptions to this rule. Carl Shurz, one of the great masters of English, of our time, was nearly of age before he learned a word of the language; and Mr. Sellstedt, who acquired a mastery of the tongue exceptional with a native born, began its study when he was fifteen and from that time during his long life he never ceased his arduous, painstaking pursuit of English. As he acquired facility in its use, he learned to love the language and its rich literature, and few among us were so conversant with the great writers in the English tongue, both in poetry and in prose. His early attempts to learn English show the same laborious, painstaking care with which he continued this study during his entire life. It was a queer beginning and not at all in accordance with the prescribed methods of our primary schools. It was upon his first voyage to America under the tutelage of the kind Captain Moriarity and his fine wife, both of whom were so helpful to him in many ways, that he spent all his spare time conning lessons in English. "I remember," he says, "having asked the second mate how to ask the name of things in English, and he told me to say, 'Wat you call datun?'" his

own English being lame to that extent. So I went on, boring my friend Put (a Yankee boy from Salem, Mass.) with the question till I knew the name of everything I could see to point to. I made me a little memorandum book by folding and sticking together a few sheets of writing paper, in which I wrote down phonetically the answers to my questions, memorizing at night on retiring what I had written during the day. The captain's wife was my only preceptor. The mulatto cook took me in his particular charge and devoted his spare time to giving me private lessons. In truth I owe much to him, for his zeal was indefatigable and his patience without bounds. He was fond of telling stories and I was a willing listener, the only drawback being that I understood so little of what he said, but this would only redouble his efforts to make me understand. The task of learning a new language without dictionary, grammar, or any other book of instruction is not an easy one, and almost every night, when I retired to my lonely bunk I felt ashamed of my progress. Shall I ever learn to speak English? was the burden of my thought." I have dwelt so long upon these first efforts to speak English to show the difficulties under which the boy labored and which he completely overcame. The average school boy learns his daily task and then gives it no further thought. This boy never had the pursuit of English off his mind during his waking hour. He read book after book and firmly fixed in his retentive memory the script as well as the thought and story; he talked with anybody who would listen to him; he haunted the theater when he was ashore and had the admission fee, both for love of the plays and to perfect his English; and he steeped himself so completely in the English tongue that when, after an absence of six years, he spent the winter at home, he says that "For the life of me,

I could not tell the story of my travels in any intelligible way for lack of use of my native tongue. However, I managed to make myself partly understood, nor was it many weeks before I spoke it quite fluently, though with a strong English accent."

So much for the mental development and training acquired by the youth Sellstedt in this strange school of experience. What were the results in moral training and the development of character? Here, indeed, the problem of obtaining a satisfactory result would seem to be more difficult and complex. The story of Jack Tar ashore is proverbially a tale of reckless extravagance, drunkenness and debauchery. This lad of fifteen, with no one to advise him, no one to admonish him, no one to restrain him, was thrown headlong into the sailor life with all its lights and shadows. He had not been raised in the New England school of Puritanism and he was far from being ascetic in his tastes and inclinations. On the contrary, with his bright, sunny nature and with the largest possible capacity for drinking "life to the lees," he grasped the cup of pleasure with eager hand and enjoyed to the full all good things that came in his way. At home in Sweden the flowing bowl was on the table at every festive occasion, and young and old alike partook, so that drink, the besetting sin of sailors, was not unfamiliar to him. Perhaps this was his greatest safeguard, for he learned thus early the use and not the abuse of the cup that cheers and too often inebriates. Not that things always went right with him morally. He had his hours of temptation. He was full of life, good spirits, love of fun and adventure, and a boon companion in any merry crowd. And yet, with all this, you see the tendencies which left his moral nature intrinsically sweet and pure. Within him dwelt a deep admiration, respect and reverence for all

that was delicate and refined in women. This is made evident by every reference to them in what he wrote, and from our knowledge of his many years of social life in our midst. We know that he was happiest when in the society of women of the highest intelligence, the broadest culture, and the most perfect refinement. His nature was so wholesome that he was immune from any perverted or morbid tendencies. To his dying day there was a certain freshness and simplicity about him which was most beautiful, and which could never have remained with him if his character had been warped or atrophied by vicious tendencies.

Then what a splendid schooling it was to develop all the manly virtues,—courage, patience, self-reliance, hardihood, endurance, self-control, faith, hope and charity? He suffered hunger, arctic cold, tropical heat, bodily abuse, and every privation and peril known to the seafaring man. With him in those days of early youth and manhood it was always a feast or a famine. At times his pocket was full and he rejoiced thereat and celebrated with reckless extravagance and shared his good luck with others with open-handed, lavish generosity. At other times he was penniless and knew not where to seek his next meal. Curiously enough he seemed to enjoy the latter situation about as much as the other. He had two qualities which made existence always welcome, no matter whether it turned towards him its bright or shady side—absolutely perfect health and absolutely perfect spirits. He appeared to regard life as an amusing game and played it for all it was worth, and was equally entertained whether the dice went against him or whether they turned up double sixes. He took, with a “frolic welcome” not only the thunder and the sunshine but every good or ill, happiness or sorrow, that fate had in store for him.

So, with this long and remarkable training which had developed in him these fine traits of mind, heart and character for which he was always admired, respected and loved, in 1845 Mr. Sellstedt made Buffalo his home and lived here for the remaining sixty-six years of his life. This period almost fills the space of time allotted to men on earth by the psalmist and thus it is true that he spent a lifetime among us. I shall not undertake to chronicle that period, but rather to bring back to your minds a picture of our friend as he lived and worked in our midst, and particularly what he accomplished in his adopted profession as an artist, and what he did to cultivate and maintain a knowledge and appreciation of and love for art in this community. This sailorman, who had roamed the world in search of a living and to gratify his love of romance and adventure, had a very high and noble side to his nature. His temperament was essentially poetic and romantic. He had fine ideals and aspirations. Without knowing precisely how it was to be accomplished, he felt that he should never be content until his mode of life permitted the development of the artistic side of his nature. "It is true," he says, "that I had not adopted the life of a sailor because I loved the sea, but rather as a means of getting away from a home that had been rendered unbearable to me from its domestic infelicity, and that my ambition had no higher aim than that of being the best of my class; yet there lurked a hope within my inner consciousness that sometime in the uncertain future I might find a way to spend a part of my life on shore in some congenial occupation." Surely a modest wish, and how completely it was fulfilled! Indeed, I think that one of the most engaging and lovable traits of our friend was the spirit of thankfulness and keen zest and appreciation with which he accepted all good things which

came to him in this world, no matter how modest or unpretentious they might be.

Never did an artist enter upon his career with less instruction. He describes how, as a little lad at school, "It was found that I showed a love of art, and my mother persuaded a beautiful young lady, the daughter of a lector in the gymnasium, to give me some lessons in drawing. How well I remember the elegance and taste that pervaded her perfumed boudoir and my blushes when she spoke to me or leaned over me to guide my hand. Well, I don't recall how many lessons I received, but I remember about a dozen sheets of the finest of drawing paper covered with flowers, a landscape with a big spruce and one head with abundance of curly hair all done in the neatest manner possible, of pencilling. This was the only regular instruction in art I ever had." It was soon after he became of age, while in the American Navy off the Pacific coast of South America, that his ambitions for an artistic career were awakened. "It was while on this coast that I began to have my attention called in a serious way to art. It had always been my pleasure, and in early youth the occupation of my spare hours; but nothing practical had ever come of it,—no idea of making it my life work, nor did it at this time occur to me that such a thing was possible. Yet I can now trace to the things I did on board this ship, insignificant as they were, the first dawnings of the art idea within me. Still what I did was in itself nothing. I saw that some of my comrades were scratching sperm whales' teeth, making rude pictures on them. I too tried my hand, and being more experienced in drawing than others, I made better work; nay, in a short time I produced some things which were really clever imitations of steel engravings on the polished

ivory." He continued these feeble attempts at artistic expression during his many years at sea.

Buffalo, however, which was to be his home during his entire career as an artist, saw his first earnest and persistent endeavors to acquire the art of the painter. It is surprising that one so uninstructed in this the most delicate and difficult of the arts should have dared to attempt it. However, his was a sanguine temperament and he knew not the difficulties in his way. It was a case where ignorance was bliss, and he was undaunted by any fore-knowledge of the long, intricate and toilsome road he was to follow. He possessed, as aids to the accomplishment of his arduous task, courage, industry, abiding faith that he could succeed, the keenest of perceptive faculties, a natural love and appreciation of color and form and a natural aptitude for the work, and more than all, a firm determination that he would become an artist in the best sense of that much abused word. It is interesting to watch his crude beginnings and how he had to grope his way to a knowledge even of the rudiments of his art and how it all finally resulted in his large measure of success. By reason of lack of employment on the lakes, he spent the summer of 1842 in Buffalo and there he was thrown upon his love of drawing for recreation. He describes how his friend, Captain Black, "had been in his youth a student of art and he possessed two portraits, one of himself by Stuart and the other of his wife by himself. It occurred to me that I might be able to paint a portrait too, and I told him so, whereupon he suggested that I try it. He went with me and assisted me to purchase my first materials, and gave me an unfurnished garret room for a studio. A board with pegs in, set against the wall, served for an easel and thus I was ready to commence. I did not expect then to limit my talents to mere portrait painting.

Visions of competition with the great masters haunted me day and night." His first attempt was certainly sufficiently ambitious. It was a life size death bed scene illustrating a passage from Pollock's poem, "The Course of Time." He made up his mind that the result was not quite perfection, when two accomplished women, who were invited to a private view, with kind delicacy damned the attempt not with faint praise but with utter silence, and advised him to make the acquaintance of Wilgus, an accomplished portrait painter then working in Buffalo. He describes his admiration of Wilgus: "A young man nearly my own age, with coal black hair, smooth and silky, large lustrous black eyes, with clear but pale cheeks, slightly tinged with that delicate rose of which I have since learned to know the sad significance; a straight and beautifully formed nose, a classic mouth seriously smiling—to me he seemed Apollo clad in summer blouse with palette for lyre and a rest stick for bow."

"I had been greatly taken with Mr. Wilgus' coloring and technique, and in reply to my question he informed me of what his palette consisted. Very simple it was, and I lost no time in placing the same pigments on my own. I found that they produced improvements in my efforts, and then, too, I made another discovery; by the use of a 'badger' I could get a smooth surface—to me a great desideratum, and I began to flatter myself that I had not much more to learn. I had got a commission to paint a lady's portrait, life size, for two dollars. I succeeded in making a smooth picture which her friends could recognize, and what more could art accomplish? In my joy and pride at having succeeded, I invited the friend who had introduced me to Mr. Wilgus to come and see my work. He came, but said nothing. I imputed his silence to astonishment, and there was

even a lurking suspicion in my mind that jealousy was at the bottom of his heart. However, I was determined that he should openly acknowledge my genius, so I asked him what he thought of it; it seemed to embarrass him, but I pressed him for an answer. 'Do you wish me to tell you just what I think?' 'Certainly.' 'Well, then, your picture is good for nothing, not even worth the canvas on which it is painted.' All my pride was gone, for I felt that he had reluctantly told the truth, and I knew that I was not born to obscure the fame of Rafael. 'But,' I said, 'I have used the same colors as Wilgus.' 'Yes,' he said, 'but that's not the way to paint.' 'What, then, is the way to paint?' I gasped. 'You must study to get your tints so as to resemble the place on the face where they are to go, then put them on boldly and don't touch them again if you can help it.' This was the first and only oral lesson I have had in handling colors, but it holds good to this very day. But I did not then quite understand it, and my next picture assumed the appearance of a very poorly executed mosaic. This was a large canvas upon which I painted a full-length portrait of my friend, the Bethel minister, holding a young sailor by the hand in friendly grasp."

From these beginnings he kept steadily on, working through endless doubt and discouragement, trials and tribulations, sometimes having glimpses of success and then again mortified by failure. Surely he went at it and kept at it in the right spirit. "The true artist," he says, "fights no rival but himself. Excelsior is his motto; having done his utmost, he must still strain every nerve to do still better. The very effort often defeats his aim; he fails and even seems to lose ground, but he perseveres and later finds his strength has grown by what it fed on; the goal may be unattainable, but he ceases his efforts with age, infirmity or

death." After a further period on the lakes, he came back to his work. "What would I not have given for a single lesson?" he exclaims. He tried a forecastle scene; then Joseph and Potipher's wife (a favorite subject apparently of all ambitious young artists of that day). He painted five portraits of cabinet size of Mr. Charles Bellows and his family for the nominal price of \$15 paid for in the shape of a gold fob chain, which he traded for a "bull's eye" watch and afterwards disposed of the watch for a dollar and fifty cents. We are reminded of Moses and the gross of green spectacles. We have already related how in 1845 he left the sea and settled in Buffalo. "I found," he says, "I could no longer lead a dual life, but that a choice must be made between the laborious and often dangerous occupation, which hitherto had been my certain refuge from want, and the easy and pleasant work of the art student, which I already knew would bring with it, by way of balance, to aggregate happiness, all sorts of mental unquiet, disappointment and mortifications. Actual want I did not fear, for I was prepared for the utmost frugality, both in food and clothing. But I must have a place to work in. I had not got so far as to call it a studio. With all these drawbacks, I chose to trust my future life to art, hoping that by hard study I would at least succeed in making pictures which would bring me sufficient for my modest wants."

Those were hard times which followed, and for a decade he passed through a bitter struggle to perfect himself in his art and at the same time to live. He painted pictures to pay for his board, slept in his studio, spent his evenings reading books on art, and took orders for portraits with trifling remuneration. At one time, when his situation became desperate, he learned that Mr. Wilgus had spent a winter in Porto Rico and had made six thousand dollars

painting portraits. Thinking he could go and do likewise, in February, 1849, he started for the West Indies and spent some months among the islands, painting where he could for any price he could command, but unfortunately with no measure of the pecuniary success achieved by Wilgus. However, the tide finally turned for him. By 1852 he had become so proficient as a portrait painter that he was much in demand and from that time until extreme old age dimmed his sight and deprived his hand of its vigor and skill, he carried on his profession with flattering success. Long is the list of able portraits of prominent Buffalonians executed by him. Among them were Fillmore and Cleveland, two Presidents of the United States. A complete catalogue of his works, unfortunately, does not exist, but from the best sources obtainable apparently they were over seventy in number and included such noted men as Judge Clinton, E. G. Spaulding, Albert H. Tracy, Benjamin H. Austin, Solomon G. Haven, Dr. Scott, Dennis Bowen, Sherman S. Rogers, William P. Letchworth, Dr. Shelton, William G. Fargo, Judge Verplanck, Franklin D. Locke, George S. Hazard, E. C. Sprague, Joseph Warren, S. V. R. Watson, Judge Smith, James O. Putnam, Judge Masten, Judge Wilkeson, William Wilkeson, Dr. Daboll, Judge Hall, Judge Walden, General Peter A. Porter, Dr. Hubbell, Dr. Mynter and J. N. Larned. Perhaps the finest work produced by his brush is a portrait of himself, which is present with us this evening, and which, fortunately and most appropriately, has a permanent home in the great Albright Art Gallery of our city. This beautiful gallery is the culmination of Mr. Sellstedt's work for art in the City of Buffalo, and it is most fitting that his fine portrait of himself, which made so much for his name and fame as an artist, should have there its permanent resting place. The picture was exhibited at the

Academy of Design in New York. It received, as it deserved, high praise from the critics and the press. Mr. Sellstedt was elected an associate member of the Academy and in 1875 "received the honors of a full-fledged Academician." A great change has taken place in pictorial art since this portrait was painted forty years ago and it is interesting to hear what was said of it by a cotemporary art critic of the time it was painted and the criticism of an expert of our day. The first says: "His picture is a portrait of himself in his studio. His attitude is one of deep dreaming. His eyes have a far off look, as if he could see perfections in portraiture to which he had not, but to which he was sure he could, sometime attain. The color is rich, yet clear. The texture of flesh is sensitive and so real that a friend might be pardoned for stretching out his palm to touch that of the artist in anticipation of a responsive action." One who is an expert critic of present day works of art speaks of the picture as follows: "The self portrait of Mr. Sellstedt painted in 1871 is without doubt his masterpiece. It represents him at work in his studio, seated before one of his unfinished canvases, palette in hand and in a characteristic pose. The rapt, intense expression of the artist is not only most lifelike, but reveals at a glance the great force and strength of character combined with that rare artistic, poetical soul—the influence of which is still felt in our midst—which was and is such a vital inspiration in all art and literary circles in Buffalo. In color and drawing, the portrait of Mr. Sellstedt is worthy the brush of an Old Master; the flesh tones are glowing, and the painting of the black coat against the brown background is most effective and well done."

As soon as our friend by years of strenuous effort had acquired fair fame as an artist, he determined to devote his

spare time and surplus energy to a great undertaking which he had in mind for the benefit of his adopted city. In 1861 he, with a group of prominent men, most of whom were his intimate friends and companions, organized the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, an outgrowth of the Young Men's Association. As we turn over the leaves of Mr. Chapin's history of the academy, the name Sellstedt appears on every page. The first regular art exhibition was held Dec. 24, 1861. It was, indeed, a great occasion, and how momentous it would have seemed if those who undertook the work could have looked into the future and had a vision of the splendid consummation of their feeble efforts after the lapse of more than four decades. Let us listen to a few words from Mr. Joseph Warren's account of that evening:

"American Hall was engaged, draped and somewhat inartistically extemporized into an art gallery. A confiding gas fitter was discovered, who engaged to put in the pipe and fixtures and remove them at the close of the exhibition at a merely nominal expense. The secretary of the Gas Company, Mr. O. G. Steele, with characteristic liberality, contracted to make no charge for the lighting of the hall; and the Hon. William G. Fargo neglected to collect the express bills for bringing pictures from New York and returning them to their owners. Members of the committee waited on those of our citizens who were the owners of paintings and begged them for the exhibition. Portraits of old citizens were borrowed, artists at home and abroad were asked to contribute, and as a result the hall was strewn with a collection of works of art. The days preceding the opening were busy and anxious ones. Members of the committee, organized by the indefatigable Sellstedt, who adds to artistic genius the rare ambition to work for the public without compensation, brought order out of chaos and the pictures were at last hung. Would anyone come to see them? Men of influence were quietly smuggled in and requested to say a kind word for the exhibition. Ladies of taste were asked to lend the light of their countenances

to the doubtful enterprise. So fearful was the committee of failure that, on the evening previous to the opening, the chairman of the committee, Mr. Edward S. Rich, gave a modest spread in the hall, to which eighty ladies and gentlemen were privately invited. They came, admired the pictures, tasted the sandwiches and punch and voted the art exhibition a success, and so it proved."

This was Mr. Sellstedt's foster child, and a very weak, anæmic infant it proved to be. At times it gave evidences of strength and vigor and then it would wane and die away to the point of dissolution. Nothing but the indefatigable zeal, energy and enterprise of its foster parent kept it alive. For twenty-eight years he was the superintendent. That meant that every detail of its maintenance and management was chiefly upon his shoulders. Happily he was most fitted for the work. He had in his mind an idea of artistic accomplishment towards which he was always striving, but combined with this he had the strong manly qualities, the vigor, energy and push rarely found accompanying the artistic temperament. He was thoroughly a man among men. He was what, in modern slang is called "a good mixer." He was intimate with the strong men of the town. They valued his friendship, courted his companionship, and with implicit faith in his good sense and judgment were ready to follow his lead into that strange and unknown world of the Fine Arts, and to assist him with their money and influence. During his long period of superintendentship his devotion to the cause knew no bounds. He arranged the exhibitions and often hung the pictures with his own hands. It is not chronicled whether he swept the gallery floor, but doubtless if it would have contributed one iota to the success of his darling enterprise he would have done this with the same thoroughness with which as a sailor he holystoned the deck and scraped the cable. He went to New York and begged

pictures for loan exhibitions of unwilling artists who objected that the transfer of their works to Buffalo rarely resulted in sales. When the financial stringency became desperate he organized entertainments to raise funds. He importuned the Buffalo dames gifted with poetic fire to write verses for such occasions. He made the wealthy of the city lend their wonderful paintings, consisting for the greater part of copies of the Old Masters, to grace the walls of special exhibitions, which were heralded with much blare of trumpets and newspaper notoriety. So he and his co-workers, who were inspired with his enthusiasm and who yearly grew in number, competency and importance, kept the thing alive and gradually in the course of years they reached their goal.

He and the good men who worked with him had their high ideals towards which they were striving, but never in their brightest dreams could they have hoped for the fruition which finally crowned their labor. The man came, who, with noble generosity took hold of the struggling enterprise and brought it out of darkness into light; and now the beautiful marble temple on the hill overlooking the Park Lake, with its background of green foliage and blue sky, glistening in the sunshine and bathed by the pale moonlight, and filled with statuary, paintings and engravings of worth and merit, stands a brilliant monument to the patient and enduring zeal and labor of Lars Gustav Sellstedt and his associates, and to the splendid munificence and wise public spirit of John J. Albright.

The story of Mr. Sellstedt's life in Buffalo would be most incomplete without some account of his friendships and his social and family circle; and, in the few words I shall add on these themes, I feel at liberty to indulge in a little gossip about the good folks of his day and generation.

He, certainly, had the talent for friendship developed to a rare degree; and the striking fact is the number and variety of the people whom he thus grappled to his "soul with hoops of steel." First to be named among these friends should be Axel Adlerspane, whom he met at a boarding house in Buffalo. Adlerspane was a Swede; he also was a sailor and at times they were shipmates. Mr. Sellstedt describes Adlerspane as "a very remarkable man. He was of noble family, and had been page to Princess Josephine, the consort of Oscar I (then crown prince), for two years succeeding his graduation as ensign in the navy and finishing his studies at Carlberg's Military Academy. . . . We soon became warm friends and it was by his advice that I chose portrait painting for my specialty. It is almost impossible to overrate the influence this man had on my future life and conduct. Vastly my superior in learning and intellect, of a severe disposition and highly polished manners, he would spare me not a whit when I did or said a foolish thing and I sometimes hated him for his harshness in pointing out and ridiculing my faults and lack of savoir-faire; but however mortified I might be at the time, reflection soon showed me that he was right and I would set about to reform. I had been out of society for ten years among the most uncultured and it is no wonder if I had absorbed much to be eradicated. We were much together, . . . until he was summoned home by his friend, King Oscar, when, in 1844, he ascended the throne."

William G. Fargo of Buffalo was a business man of extraordinary energy, foresight and capacity. He would be named in any list of great men of affairs this country has produced. He was the very embodiment of hard-headed, shrewd common sense and of what is known to us as a "practical man," and yet these two men, so dissimilar

in their tastes, were devoted personal friends and companions. We should add to this particular group Joseph Warren, the editor, a man of much reading and many scholarly acquirements and a public spirited citizen—one of the small group of men to whom we owe our system of public parks. These three men, Fargo, Warren and Sellstedt, apparently formed a special coterie by themselves. Not long before his death the latter described his two friends to me in a graphic portrayal of their fine qualities which had attracted him to them in such strong and enduring friendship. He told of the many pleasant times they had enjoyed together and how, on occasions, they had journeyed away to some seashore resort for the sake of a period of uninterrupted mutual companionship.

Then there was James O. Putnam. How would it be possible to describe him to a stranger in words adequate to carry any conception of this brilliant and gifted man. Well born, well bred, well educated, a student of history, government, statecraft, literature and biography, his mind was a storehouse of choice knowledge. By temperament he was imaginative, poetical, as sensitive as a woman, nervous and high strung. His whole nature was in attune to the highest, purest and noblest, in thought and action, that has ever been conceived or accomplished by mankind upon this planet. All this was combined with a gift of expression, which, at its best, poured itself forth in a rhapsody of words most brilliant and most eloquent. Orator, statesman, diplomat, scholar, philosopher, Mr. Putnam was one of the rare men of the earth whom the good Lord occasionally sends to His creatures to break the dull level of mediocrity of the masses of their fellows. Between Mr. Putnam and Mr. Sellstedt there was a deep and abiding friendship which ripened and grew closer with each passing year, and par-

ticularly towards the end when they were left about the only survivors of a large group of friends. I should also mention Dennis Bowen, James M. Smith, Sherman S. Rogers, my father, Doctor Scott, Rev. Dr. Shelton and Horace Briggs. Indeed, for half a century he was well known to every man of prominence in Buffalo, and with many of them he was an intimate friend and companion. No man ever lived here who entered with keener zest and enthusiasm into the social life of our city, or was more welcome in social circles or contributed more to their charm.

Those were the days of the smaller, and to my mind, the happier Buffalo. I have yet to appreciate that anything is added to the real enjoyment of life by herding together hundreds of thousands of heterogeneous humanity, drawn from all quarters of the globe, who have no common interests except to make money and to increase industrial activities, which condemn us to endure an atmosphere filled with noise, coal-smoke and noxious gases. When our friend came here he found a "neater, sweeter" Buffalo, in a "cleaner, greener" setting. It was, comparatively, a village life, of which Niagara Square was the center. There dwelt the Austins, Babcocks, Howards, Wilkesons, Sizers and the Fillmores. The other folks of what was known as "Society" abided, for the greater part, within stone's throw. It was a pleasant, informal, social life—the time when neighbors dropped in of an evening for a social call, the time of great parties given in private houses, where people crowded together, seemed to enjoy themselves, and suffered and were strong and stood about to partake of bountiful feasts created out of the lavish profusion of the day. On such festive occasions the wine flowed freely, and occasionally the fiery liquid got the better of some gentleman with disastrous results. It was the time of "Old Folks

Festivals," bachelors' balls, sleigh rides to Williamsville and other far away resorts; the time of the Young Men's Association Lyceum lectures, all manner of social and literary clubs, and of the Saint Cecelia and kindred singing societies; the time when private theatricals were much in vogue; the era of square dances, the Quadrille, the Lanciers, Virginia reel, "Money-musk," the Schottische, etc. But I fear I am getting beyond my depth, for I was just about to attempt to describe the "hoop skirts" and other peculiarities of feminine attire of that day. Suffice it to say that our friend entered into all these social activities and enjoyments with the zest and enthusiasm which came natural to him after his early experience of like festivities in his Swedish home. Laughter and sunshine attended upon his coming, and no hour could be tame or uninteresting when spent with him. He took special interest in the private theatricals and acquired local fame in his interpretation of the part of Shylock, studied so closely from the pages of his beloved Shakespeare.

And what an interesting and inspiring comrade he was, and what a pleasure and privilege to be his friend and companion! I can see him now "in my mind's eye," with his broad, expressive features, those curling locks and beard gradually growing whiter with the flight of time, that red necktie, that sailor gait and the little trick he had of lifting his head and rolling up his eyes, especially when seeking for the right word to express his meaning! The very motion was evidence of the student mind. This hesitancy for a word was not due to lack of words, but to the constant habit of always selecting the best and aptest word to illustrate his thought. Then, when he found it, he would shoot it forth with a sudden exclamation and a radiant smile would light his face, triumphant in the knowledge that the

right word had come at his bidding. It was my privilege, in the spring of 1875, to spend some weeks with him in Italy. I had come with my comrades from Leipsic. We were a merry crowd, happy to have escaped from the dull winter gloom of Saxony; happy to be done with the winter semester, and thrilled with joy and excitement at last to find ourselves in sunny Italy, with all it meant to us, with its treasures of beauty and art and its wonderful historic interest. And then in Rome and in the heart of the Bohemia of the Eternal City, in the cafe of the Hotel D'Orient, I descried, dimly through the clouds of tobacco smoke, the curly head of our Buffalo artist. With what kind enthusiasm and evidences of pleasure he received my comrades and myself! He became our constant companion and, although more than twice our age, the brightest, merriest, youngest one of all our merry crowd. Then followed delightful and instructive days in his company in Rome, Florence and Venice. He had certain curious ways with him. He would wander through palaces, churches and galleries apparently in an absent-minded mood and giving no evidence of paying particular attention to what he saw or heard,—and yet, when evening came and we sat together after the table d'hôte, you were astonished to find how every incident, everything we had seen, done or heard was sketched upon his memory in deep and enduring lines, and he would talk most intelligently and delightfully upon the events of the day. Those were pleasant evenings thus spent with him, and how profitable for a youngster of twenty! His talk was rich with anecdote of his strange and varied experiences. He had acquired a broad, catholic taste and a kindly, most humane and tolerant philosophy of life, and so his conversation was upon broad and genial lines—no narrowness, no petty prejudices, but a most kindly and

generous outlook upon all his fellow-men. In Venice, our hotel was on the Riva. The first time we entered our room he lifted the window curtain and there, in full splendor before us were the waters of the Canale di S. Marco, sparkling and dancing in the sunshine and resting upon the surface innumerable gondolas and sailing craft, the sails of the latter gorgeous in coloring, fluttering in the breeze, and beyond lay the Guidecca with the exquisite dome of the "Salute" outlined against the blue Italian sky. In an instant his artist's eye caught the full magnificence of the scene, immediately he had procured the implements of his craft, and before he had set foot upon the stones of Venice (and I believe that this was his first visit to the Queen of the Adriatic) he was at work upon that beautiful painting which is reproduced in color in his autobiography.

I turn over the leaves of my father's favorite copy of Shakespeare. How black it is with pencilings to mark his love of favorite passages and with his comments on the text! Are there, I wonder, many copies of the *Light of Literature* owned by people of the present day bearing the ear-marks of so much study and devotion? Doubtless Sellstedt's copy is the same. There I read how the Shakespeare Club first met at my father's house on Monday evening, Nov. 9, 1868. The play was "The Merchant of Venice." Among the seventeen named who were cast for parts that first night, three only are now living. That club continued for many years, and a very delightful club it was! Through some oversight, Mr. Sellstedt was not given the part of Shylock that first night, but ever thereafter, I think, when this play was on for the evening, he interpreted this famous role. Among those who joined were the Babcocks, the Rogers, the Kents, the Howlands, the Noyes, the Ranneys, the Lothropes, the Folletts, Mr. and Mrs.

Hawes, Mr. and Mrs. Richard Williams, Miss Williams, Miss Wilkeson, Mr. Frothingham, and Charles Akers, the sculptor. I like to recall those pleasant evenings, when the club met at our home and we children were allowed to be present as a special privilege—the gathering of friends and the pleasant mutual greetings, the solemn silence before the play began, the interested and strained attention during the reading, particularly if the play was one of the great tragedies, and how, at the end, the books would be closed with a resounding slap and then could be heard a suppressed sigh of relief from the strain of following the intricate and mighty thoughts and the awful human tragedy which the master had portrayed with a stern and relentless hand. Then would come a reaction in thought and feeling, and wit, fun and merriment were masters of the talk about the supper table. I am sure our friend regarded these as the most delightful evenings of his life. There he was with his beloved author and surrounded by his friends—and to one so richly endowed with a love for good literature and a love for good company, these hours were replete with the highest and keenest pleasures to be obtained from social intercourse.

In January, 1850, Mr. Sellstedt married Louise Lovejoy, who was taken from him by death after a few months of happiness together. He was a long time recovering from this bereavement. Six years afterwards, and in June, 1857, he married Caroline, the accomplished daughter of Dr. William K. Scott. Their married life began in the house on Mohawk street and there they remained for life. We all remember that pleasant home, the social center of all interests in art and of much besides. There all artists were received, cared for and made most welcome; thither came forlorn wanderers from the masters' native lands and never

failed to receive advice, comfort and most substantial aid; and there, surrounded by his wife, family and troops of friends, for over half a century he dwelt a busy, useful, happy, contented man. Two great sorrows came to him: first, the loss of his darling son, his only man-child; and, later, when death carried away his daughter's husband. His heart was deeply wounded by these afflictions, but Time, nature's great healer, at length restored to him his full vigor of mind and spirits.

The years, "those silent robbers of our opportunities," one by one came and vanished and finally so many had slipped away that he must count himself an old man, as reckoned by time. Still they left him untouched in his vigor and freshness of mind and body. The "joy o' life" remained with him, and his happy, useful career continued on. Finally, however, even his hardy frame gave way to the relentless years, but never for a moment could they conquer his strong mind, or daunt his cheerful and courageous spirit. The time came when the hand grew too unsteady for the brush, and the eyes too dim for the canvas. Immediately his restless spirit turned to other things for occupation and recreation. Always had he pursued his study of English with the plays of Shakespeare for his guide, which he read with boundless admiration and unwearying zeal. He wrote his memoirs, then a monograph on art and artists of Buffalo. He experimented in many sorts of literary exercises in poetry and in prose. He faced the decline of his powers with a calm serenity and resignation. I remember that towards the end, when I called to see him, I would find him using a magnifying glass to aid his failing sight, and so constantly reading, studying and observing. No man in the prime and vigor of manhood could take a deeper interest in life in all its phases than he displayed almost

until the end of his long, useful and happy journey through the world. It was interesting to see how, in these later years, the childlike spirit which was the key-note of his character asserted itself in many ways. The older he grew, the more he seemed to court and love the society of the young. He enjoyed the Saturn Club, that home of youth and fun and frolic, and never failed to be on hand to take part in its many unique and sometimes boisterous revels. He seldom missed an evening at the Studio Club and no one present found keener zest or enjoyment in the entertainments there provided. He retained to the last his faculty of making the best of things and being thankful for whatever of recreation or pleasure came in his way. During the last year, a building was erected adjacent to his house, shutting out the light from his windows looking towards the west, and behold, instead of complaint at the loss of all this light, air, and sunshine, he explained to me how the offensive brick wall would shelter them from the frost-laden winds of winter.

I have omitted any allusion to his religious opinions and the views he held of another life. This I have done intentionally, for although I know he was imbued with deep religious sentiments I dread the use of cant phrases in dealing with such sacred themes and prefer to pass them by in reverent silence. May I, however, quote four verses from a poem written by him, an old man, his heart still grieving for his lost boy?

“All-right,” we say, when all is wrong,
Hope may be near or out of sight,
Far, far away or absent long,—
He whispers in despair: “All-right,
I shall in death find peace all right.”

Thus or in sorrow or in joy
The soul in darkness or in light,
We thoughtlessly this phrase employ,
And right or wrong, we say, "All right."

My first-born son lay sick to death
Sadly I watched by him that night,
He bade me raise his head for breath,
He looked his love and said, "All right";
And died at once—O! was it right?

I know, I know, I do believe,
I try to see the prospect bright,
And yet, and yet, my heart will grieve,
Although I hope all may be right,
And God at last shall set all right."

How often in those days of homeless wandering, did our sailor, pacing the lonely deck, keep his solitary watch by night, about him a vast expanse of black threatening waters and above him

"The floor of Heaven, thick inlaid with patins of bright gold!"

Then, with the process of the hours, the stars grow dim and fade from sight or sink into the ocean. The faint flush of returning day comes out of the east. Gradually, a shimmering gleam is reflected upon the surface of the deep, growing ever brighter first with a silvery and then a golden glow. The scattered clouds above are suffused with crimson. Announcing the

"Rosy-fingered dawn, the daughter of the morn."

then suddenly, the

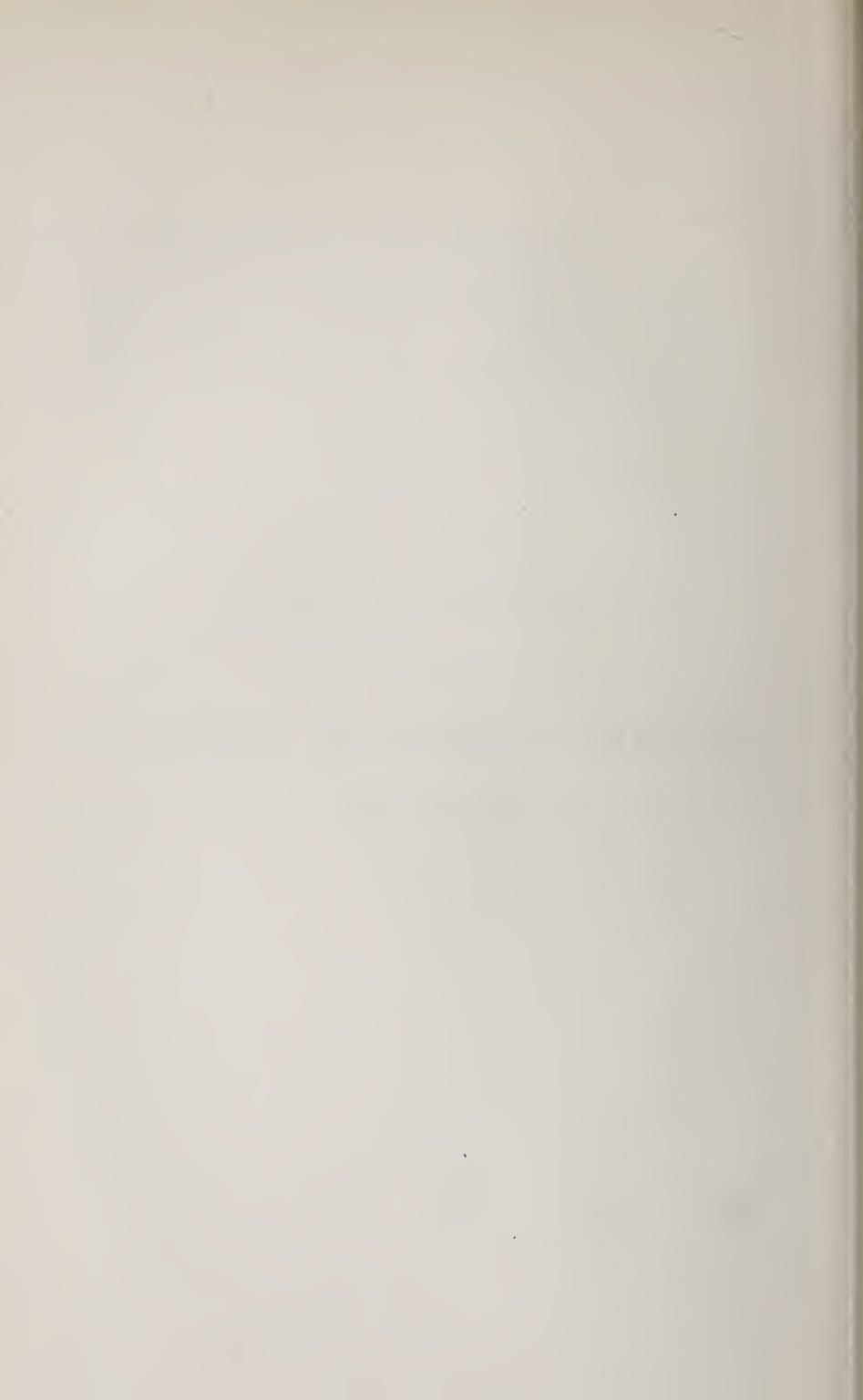
"Sunshine splendid comes flashing o'er the sea,"

emblem of the new day, new birth, new life and immortality. Our sailor strikes the hour for change of watch and his clear, strong voice rings out, "All's well." So this clarion note, "All's well," was with him throughout his

beautiful and beneficent life and remained with him to the end. Surely it is with him still, and may we not cherish the hope, nay, the strong, abiding faith, that somehow, somewhere, when the hour strikes for our change of watch again we shall hear that clear, strong voice crying, "All's well"?

"For love will dream and faith will trust
That somehow, somewhere, meet we must.
Alas, for him who never sees,
The stars shine through his cypress trees,
Who hath not learned in hours of faith
The truth, to sense and flesh unknown,
That life is ever lord of death,
And love can never lose its own.
And when the sunset gates unbar,
Shall we not see him, waiting, stand,
And, white against the evening star,
The welcome of his beckoning hand?"

THE SEMI-CENTENNIAL
OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MAY 20, 1912



EXERCISES AT THE
SEMI-CENTENNIAL
OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

On the evening of Monday, May 20, 1912, the Buffalo Historical Society celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment with a meeting at which congratulations were received from sister institutions, the career of the Historical Society was reviewed in an historical address by its president, and tablets were unveiled in memory of Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland, both former members of the Society. Music and other features contributed to the pleasure of the evening's programme.

In the absence of the Mayor, the Hon. William G. Justice, Comptroller of the City of Buffalo, extended the greeting of the municipality to the Society.

From the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy

In behalf of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Mr. Willis O. Chapin spoke as follows:

Mr. President and Members of the Historical Society:

Half a century has passed since the Buffalo Historical Society was formed. Today you reconsecrate yourselves to the work laid out for you by the founders.

The Young Men's Association celebrated its quarter-century anniversary in 1861. It had been called the "sole guardian and representative of the literary, scientific and artistic poverty of Buffalo." The year following saw the beginnings, not only of your Society, but of the Fine Arts Academy and of the Society of Natural Sciences. The achievements of the little band of pioneers, who, amid the surging billows of civil war, created these havens of peace, must not be forgotten. If our three societies had little else to offer in the early years, they at least gave to each other their friendship and sympathy. They were inspired with the enthusiasm of youth, and struggled bravely along, steadily drawing nearer the goal of their ambition. There were, indeed, many discouragements, for it was necessary, not only to secure efficient management, with salaries paid mostly in the coin of appreciation, but to create public interest in their work. Success, if delayed, at last crowned their efforts. For many years our societies were neighbors in the Library Building. The Exposition gave to you this beautiful Historical Building, and thus opened a new era in your own history. The educational work you are now doing would far surpass the visions of the founders. Today we of the Fine Arts Academy have our marble palace, across the lake; our fame has also gone abroad; and we are to celebrate our fiftieth anniversary in a few months. The Society of Natural Sciences is planning to join us again in the near future with a building of its own. Art, Science and History are indeed inseparable!

Mr. President, as lifelong friend and neighbor, the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, through its representatives, comes to-day to join you in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of your Society. We bring you our greetings, and we congratulate you upon the great and good work you

have done. Its value is inestimable because it is permanent, and will increase with the years, and because it has been guided by experts whose knowledge is sure and whose respect for their work is high and constant.

In this building you have preserved the records of deeds and events in our history which otherwise would have passed from memory. Your publications of this material have brought you fame throughout the land. No story can rival real history. What romance can vie in interest with the thought of this vast continent, wrapped in silence for untold ages awaiting its white discoverers? Your collection of books and records bearing on the early history of this region is one of the best. You have maintained courses of free lectures. You have collected material for the purpose of investigating it, and of drawing lessons from the past as a means of enriching the individual, and of thus improving society. Your work, as you have understood it, thus becomes a means of true intellectual culture—something more than the mere art of accumulating material.

But I must leave to your President the story of your achievements, and the roll of honor of the devoted band of workers who have accomplished these results. Your early struggles have passed, and your work no longer lacks appreciation or support. So long as your society cherishes such ideals, and is inspired by such noble aspirations, we have no fear for her best and truest prosperity.

Mr. President, we are glad to be here today. We will always unite with you in the common cause. We are proud of what you have accomplished, and we shall carry away with us some of the inspiration of this occasion for our own use.

From the Society of Natural Sciences

In behalf of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences Mr. Henry R. Howland, Superintendent of that institution, spoke as follows :

It is my fortunate office this evening to bring to one of the oldest and most useful of Buffalo's public institutions, the felicitations of a sister society, equally venerable in point of years, equally virile in its enthusiasms and its zeal for public service; equally useful, I trust, in the extent and the value of its own large work for the profit and betterment of the people of this great city.

Tonight our thoughts revert to those days of small beginnings when in October, 1861, papers were circulated whose signers urged the need of some permanent organization for the study and promotion of the natural sciences and agreed to become members of such a society when it should be formed. The Historical Society owns the original documents and it is interesting to note that the first signers were ex-President Millard Fillmore, who became the first President of the Historical Society, and the Rt. Rev. John Timon, the beloved Roman Catholic Bishop of Buffalo. Their autographs are followed by those of ninety others whose names have been those of light and leading in this community, who have wrought their work of usefulness and have gone to their last rest.

As a result of this effort, a public meeting was held December 5, 1861, when the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences was organized and Judge Clinton was chosen to be its first President, an office which he held for twenty years. I have been impressed with the fact that the same prominent names occur in the early history of both institutions, nor is it otherwise now. Mr. Fillmore, Mr. O. H. Marshall,

Judge Clinton, Mr. W. K. Hopkins, Judge Hall, Dennis Bowen, Joseph Warren, William P. Letchworth, Pascal P. Pratt, John Ganson, James D. Sawyer, M. S. Hawley, S. S. Guthrie, Jewett M. Richmond, Rev. Dr. Shelton, Rev. Dr. Lord, Rev. Dr. Heacock, Dr. Joseph P. White, Dr. Thomas F. Rochester, Dr. C. C. Wyckoff, Dr. John D. Hill, George Palmer, George R. Babcock, and scores of others who were earnest in organizing our Society became no less interested in the welfare of the Historical Society and in its inception in 1862; and today our memberships are singularly identical, the result no doubt of that fine feeling of public spirit which seeks to share in all things that contribute to the uplift and the help of the people of our city,—in all those agencies that would add to our municipal growth in material prosperity, that better and higher growth in those things which are of the intellect, the soul and the spirit.

When these first efforts began, our country was in the first throes of that great Civil War which through four terrible years of strife filled men's hearts with sorrow and apprehension. Many of those who were the founders of our two societies volunteered in their country's service, and as those who remained met together for the duties which were theirs, there was too often present with them the remembrance of hushed voices and the thought of unreturning feet; but when those years of storm and stress were over there came in August, 1866, at the invitation of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, the first meeting since 1860 of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, when it was welcomed by Judge Clinton in an address in which he claimed for Buffalo "a deep respect for literature, for art, for science, and a longing to make it as famous in letters as it is prosperous in commerce and manufactures." Again in 1876 it came with

Thomas A. Huxley and many famous savants from foreign countries, leaving an increased enthusiasm for study that made many of our young men forget for a time material striving in an eagerness for those things that are of the mind. Again in 1886 and again in 1896 the American Association came hither at our invitation and the work of our Society grew apace.

From the earliest days it has been realized that to fulfill its real purpose this work must be educational and not only for the benefit of the research student but for the enlightenment and pleasure of the common people throughout our city. It is not my intention to weary you with details as to how this has slowly but surely been accomplished—how tentative experiments have crystallized into systematic methods which now bring many thousands of Buffalo's grammar school children to our lecture or class room morning and afternoon of each day in the school year; how our weekly Friday evening, free, public lectures cover a period of seven months each year and bring to a borrowed lecture room (as our own is, alas, too small) audiences of 800 or 900 persons each week to see and hear the best lecturers in the United States; how our loan collections for school use are widely and freely distributed; how our museum collections, rearranged and descriptively though briefly labelled, have become doubly interesting and vastly more instructive; these things are surely known to you all, but in our years of growth we have stood side by side with our constant friends the Historical Society and the Academy of Fine Arts, sharing with them the inconveniences of old St. James's Hall, the better facilities of the Public Library Building in whose erection each Society took an honorable share, and always sharing with them that feeling of a common interest in a common purpose and with unflinching good will seeking to

advance the coming of prospective good fortune and to rejoice in the good luck of each of these our friends and neighbors and to hope it might be prophetic of our own.

From narrow quarters, from days of struggle, you have been relieved; and we rejoice that we can offer you a reassurance of our hearty good wishes in your own beautiful and commodious building in its happy surroundings. Your friends and our own of the Academy of Fine Arts in their exquisite building are near you still, as we fain would be if fortune would smile also upon us. We honor the memory of Bronson C. Rumsey and Dexter P. Rumsey who have given us a fine site close to your own doors for such a building as we need. Our work is hampered for want of it, but we have as yet no fund for its erection. We did not celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of our first public meeting and organization which would have been on the 5th day of last December. Our Society was legally incorporated on the 23d of January, 1863, and before that anniversary occurs I hope that the way may be opened for us to see some approaching realization of our desires and that we may ere long be near to you in person and a part of this fine educational center, as we are near to you in our hearts tonight in wishing you health, wealth and happiness and long-continued, as they are well deserved, years of prosperity.

From the Canadian Institute

Mr. David Reid Keys of Toronto, representing the Canadian Institute, had accepted the invitation of the Historical Society to be present, and extended the felicitations of the Canadian Institute in the following happy form:

**An Acrostic Sonnet to the
Buffalo Historical Society 1912**

By one great symbol thou art truly great,
Unless thy glory doth thy name belie,
For "Buffalo" sheer greatness must imply,
Foreshadowing from of old thy high estate;
How well thy sponsors have foretold thy fate,
Involving in thy name thy destiny,
Showing thy citizens how far a cry
Still lies before them e'er they culminate!
O may each effort win beyond the last,
Controlling higher powers than e'en of yore,
Inspiring brilliant histories of the past,
Enriched with art's free grace and learning's store.
Toronto sends this friendly wish to thee,
Yet still intends a rival fair to be.

DAVID REID KEYS,

Canadian Institute, Toronto, Ont., May 19th, 1912.

Letters of congratulation were read from many invited guests and institutions in other cities.

President Henry W. Hill then delivered the Historical Address which follows:

Historical Address

Honorable William G. Justice, Comptroller of the City of Buffalo, Mr. Willis O. Chapin of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Mr. Henry R. Howland of the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, Representatives of other Historical Societies, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The officers and managers of the Buffalo Historical Society most cordially welcome you all to these exercises in commemoration of its Fiftieth Anniversary, and assure you of their genuine pleasure in being afforded the opportunity of receiving you all in the Society's own home on this, its semi-centennial.

The greetings of the City of Buffalo, of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, of the Buffalo Society of Natural Science, and of the Canadian Institute, gracefully extended by the preceding speakers, are gratefully appreciated and are naturally gratifying to those charged with the responsibility of the conduct of the affairs of this institution.

The officers of this Society are pleased to know what its standing is in the opinion of its contemporary sister organizations and of the people of this city.

Comptroller Justice, we are grateful to you for your encouraging message to us and to know that our work has the official approval of the chief fiscal officer and of the taxpayers of Buffalo. From its inception this Society has been one of the three leading institutions of this city and its membership at all times comprising many of its representative citizens.

Mr. Chapin and Mr. Howland, permit us to express to you on this occasion our appreciation of what your respective organizations have accomplished and are still doing for the advancement of that

"Art divine,
That both creates, and fixes, in despite
Of Death and Time, the marvels it hath wrought,"

and of that Natural Science that reveals the history of the earth in its transformations through the geological ages as well as for the promotion of intellectual culture in this community; and also to acknowledge our indebtedness to you for your services and that of other active members of your organizations as members of the Board of Managers of this Society. From the first, as you have stated, these three organizations have been closely allied, and on this occasion your greetings are evidences of that cordial relationship that has existed for half a century.

If the administration of the affairs of this Society has hitherto been such as to merit the approval of the citizens of Buffalo, we trust that it may continue to be so in the future and that its business affairs may be so economically and prudently managed as to merit at all times public approval. Its Managers have always had this in view in administering its affairs, and in their desire to carry out the original purposes of its founders, and wherever possible to extend its sphere of usefulness by increasing its activities and making its collections accessible to all classes of our citizens. In its evolution from a private to a public educational institution, its activities have been greatly multiplied; and in its new building, with its growing collections, it is now able to serve the public in many ways not possible before it acquired its new home.

ORIGIN AND PURPOSES.

It may be of interest to refer briefly to its origin, and evolution during the first half century of its existence. So far as I am advised, the first suggestion of the formation of this institution was that made by Orsamus H. Marshall to Hon. Lewis F. Allen, while passing along the streets of the city on a windy day in the month of March, 1862, as reported by Mr. Allen to our secretary, Mr. Severance. On that occasion Mr. Marshall, then deploring his failure to get something in relation to the Indians, regarding whom he was an expert historian, said to Mr. Allen: "Come up into my office, and we will talk it over," in reply to Mr. Allen's statement to Marshall that "We ought to do something about these things" (referring to records and relics of our history, including Indian affairs). Mr. Marshall's familiarity with the history of the Niagara Frontier, as evidenced by his large collection of books on the subject, also appears

in his interesting lecture on the Niagara Frontier, read before the Society on February 27, 1865, and published in Vol. II of its Publications. As a result of the conference between Mr. Allen and Mr. Marshall, there was a call signed by George R. Babcock, Henry W. Rogers, Orsamus H. Marshall, William Dorsheimer, Dr. John C. Lord, Rev. Walter Clarke, and Lewis F. Allen, for a meeting, which was held in the office of Mr. Marshall on March 25, 1862, presided over by Lewis F. Allen as chairman, and Orsamus H. Marshall acted as secretary. On motion of Mr. H. W. Rogers it was

“Resolved, That it is expedient to organize a Historical Society for the City of Buffalo and County of Erie, and that the chairman appoint a committee of seven to report a plan of organization.”

Such committee was appointed, consisting of Orsamus H. Marshall, Rev. George W. Hosmer, Rev. Walter Clarke, William Dorsheimer, James P. White, George R. Babcock and George W. Clinton. That committee met on April 8, 1862, drafted a constitution and by-laws, and presented it at a meeting of citizens held at the rooms of the Medical Association, No. 7 North Division street, on April 15, 1862, which was presided over by the Hon. Millard Fillmore as chairman, Orsamus H. Marshall acting as secretary. The constitution and by-laws were slightly amended, and then unanimously adopted; and at a subsequent meeting held on May 20, 1862, fifty years ago tonight, at the rooms of the Medical Association, the Hon. Millard Fillmore was elected President, Lewis F. Allen, Vice-President, George R. Babcock, George W. Clinton, Walter Clarke, Nathan K. Hall, Henry W. Rogers, William Shelton, Orsamus H. Marshall, George W. Hosmer and William Dorsheimer were elected councillors. Charles D. Norton was appointed

Secretary and Treasurer, and Guy H. Salisbury Corresponding Secretary and Librarian. Mr. Dorsheimer offered the use of his office as a place of meeting for the Board of Managers and for the custody of its books and papers, which offer was accepted.

On June 3, 1862, the Committee on Inaugural Address reported that they had secured the American Hall, which is the present site of the Adam, Meldrum & Anderson building, for the meeting of the Society, on July 1, 1862, at which time President Fillmore delivered his inaugural address, which is printed in full in Vol. I of the Proceedings of this Society. In that address President Fillmore outlined at some length his views in relation to the functions of such an organization, and in conclusion said:

“Finally, let this institution be the grand repository of everything calculated to throw light on our history; books, newspapers, letters, pamphlets, maps, medals and relics of every description should be deposited here; and let our citizens unite heart and hand in building up this Society, which, while it does justice to the dead, reflects honor upon the living.”

The Certificate of Incorporation of the Historical Society bears date December 31, 1862; it was verified January 6, 1863, approved by Justice Marvin on January 8, 1863, and filed in the office of the Secretary of State of New York and the Clerk of the County of Erie, on January 10, 1863, in which the particular business and object of the Buffalo Historical Society are stated to be: “To discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the history of Western New York in general, and the City of Buffalo in particular, and to gather statistics of the commerce, manufactures and business of the lake region and those portions of the west that are intimately connected with the interests of Buffalo.”

This Society thus early undertook the collation and preservation of the important data relating to this entire territory. The records now preserved in its archives, are voluminous, and will afford substantial material for the future historian of Western New York. President Fillmore's familiarity with public affairs and his interest in all that entered into our national life, impressed him with the importance of tracing out and preserving whatever might relate to the aboriginal life, as well as to the later settlement, family life, political occupancy, commercial expansion and industrial development of the people in this territory. Mr. Marshall and others were deeply interested in all these matters. Accordingly, the founders of this Society made provision for the collation and preservation of all such historical data, as well as for the collection and preservation of statistics in relation to the commerce of this port and of the entire lake region, in order that there might be preserved indisputable records of historical events.

In his address on "The Origin and Progress of the Buffalo Historical Society," delivered June 26, 1873, Oliver G. Steele, one of its founders, and its treasurer from September, 1862, to 1870, and later its Vice-President and President, said:

"The importance of procuring and preserving authentic memorials of the settlement of the city and county, and of the individuals who were its pioneers, and gave tone, direction and character to its early history, became more and more apparent as the City advanced in population and importance. . . . The gradual passing away of individuals identified with the origin and growth of the city, impressed many of our citizens with the importance of securing the scattered remnants of early local history floating through the city and vicinity, and preserving them in a tangible and systematic manner. In the progress of organization no interest could be awakened except by the volun-

tary action of such of our citizens as were interested in preserving such memorials for the benefit and for the example of those who would fill their places in the future business growth and intellectual progress of the city. No legal power existed which would compel individuals to gather up and deposit such historical memorials as they might possess; neither was there any existing fund or provision in any form which would induce parties to give attention to the subject. The movement was therefore entirely spontaneous, dependent upon the interest which might be created by the action of a few individuals. Such was the condition of the public mind in 1860 and 1862."

Thus we see that the plan and scope of this Society and the purposes of its founders comprehended the formation of an institution devoted primarily to research work in local history according to modern methods. They did not extend their investigations into other fields except in so far as such investigations might be necessary to throw light on matters of local historical interest, for they felt that the territory, though limited, was rich enough in historical material to occupy the entire time and energy of such a Society as the one they were founding. They did not, however, limit their work exclusively to local matters, but extended it to related subjects of a more general character, as is shown in the range of the papers read during the earlier years of its existence. In later years the field of its operations has been somewhat enlarged in order to keep in touch with the work of other organizations of a similar character in and outside of the State.

ITS VARIOUS HOMES.

The first home of this Society was in the Association Building at the corner of Main and Eagle streets, in joint occupancy with the Young Men's Association. It remained there until 1873, when it moved into the Western Savings

Bank Building. In January, 1887, the Society again moved to the third floor of the Library Building at the corner of Broadway and Washington street, where it remained until the early summer of 1902, when it came into possession of its permanent home. In the period of transition, it was impossible to classify and properly display its books, pamphlets, manuscripts, papers, photographs and other historical material, which had been presented to it from time to time by those interested in its success. That was a serious handicap to the growth of the Society, and one of the strong arguments in favor of its acquiring a new home of its own, where its valuable collections might be accessible and more advantageously displayed.

PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS.

During the earlier years of its existence, it had no funds other than the contributions made to its maintenance, principally by its members and in a few instances by its friends. At the suggestion of President Fillmore, fifty gentlemen obligated themselves to pay twenty dollars per year for five years, and shortly thereafter this arrangement was modified by allowing each subscriber to pay fifty dollars at one time, and thereby become a life member. The balance of their original subscriptions of one hundred dollars was paid in annual payments of ten dollars each.

Its bequests and donations went into a permanent fund, the income only of which was used for current expenses.

ITS MEETINGS AND LECTURES.

At first its meetings were in the nature of club meetings, held in the houses of its members, at which papers, prepared with care, were read, and many of them afterward printed in pamphlet form. Many of these, either in manuscript or

pamphlet form, are now in the possession of the Society. The more valuable of them have appeared in our Publications. These papers included articles on the various periods of the history of Buffalo and the Niagara Frontier, and on Indian life and episodes, military expeditions, early settlements, and on the social and intellectual growth of Buffalo and its industrial and commercial expansion from an Indian village to an important inland port. They together constitute the most important contribution to Americana, so far as the same relates to the Niagara Frontier, that has ever been made to that department of historical literature.

In later years its club meetings were revived, but these were eventually superseded by courses of lectures, which have been maintained for the benefit of our members. A series of popular lectures has also been given some years for the benefit of the public.

The Society has sought every opportunity for coöperation with city schools and all organizations and individuals, engaged in historical study. The rooms of the Society have occasionally been used by classes from the public schools, and by other educational organizations, and its collections are constantly consulted by people of this city and others in quest of information not elsewhere obtainable.

ORGANIZATIONS ENTERTAINED.

The New York State Historical Association held its annual meeting at the Buffalo Historical Society Building in the year 1907, which was attended by representatives of other organizations and also of a score or more of historical societies in various parts of the State. It was the first opportunity that this Society had had of entertaining that and sister organizations in its new building, which together with its archives and collections was the subject of much

favorable comment on the part of the large membership in attendance. During the Holiday Week of 1911, this Society, together with other educational organizations of the city, opened its doors to the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, which met in Buffalo at the invitation of this Society. There was a large attendance of the members of these two national organizations from various parts of the country, and some of their meetings were held in the Historical Society Building, and a reception was tendered them by the Board of Managers. Other historical, educational and some patriotic organizations have held their meetings in this building, and it has been used as extensively since it was opened as any other Historical Society Building in the country, aside from those exclusively under State control.

VARIED ACTIVITIES.

I call attention to these facts to show the varied activities in which this Society is engaged and the organizations with which it is allied, in carrying forward its yearly work of discovering, preserving and making accessible its historical, archæological and genealogical collections and material. Its advantageous location on the Niagara Frontier, the highway between the East and the West, over which the tides of trade and travel have flowed for centuries, in a territory marked by many ruins of the waning race of aborigines, necessitates the extension of its activities into the domain of state, national and international affairs; and furthermore it has been brought into close touch with the history of the entire lake region and of the St. Lawrence valley, as well as with the literature of these regions, parts of which are to be found only in the archives at Paris, London and Ottawa.

ENLARGE FIELD OF ACTIVITY.

In this wider domain of research work, there is abundant opportunity for this and other societies to prosecute their investigations to the end that the results may give us a broader and better conception of our municipal, state and national institutions and their evolution from primitive conditions to the amplified and complex forms, which they have now assumed. This result has been inevitable, owing to the transformations of governmental agencies due to the succession of independent sovereign occupancy and control of this territory. The growth of Buffalo from a city of 82,000 population in 1862, to an estimated cosmopolitan population of 444,915 in 1912, is indicative of the changes going on the world over, necessitating an amplification of our governmental policy and an extension of our institutions to conform to the progressive and complex civilization of the period. This we believe is sufficient justification for the enlargement of the sphere of the activities of this Society beyond the limitations proposed by its founders. It is not at all probable that they foresaw all the changes that were to occur in fifty years, and the rapid forging ahead of Buffalo from a moderate sized city to one of the large ports of the world. It is not probable that they realized that within the lifetime of men then living, it would become the largest coal depot in the world; that its iron and steel products would assume any such proportions as they have reached, and that there would be a waterway connecting the Great Lakes on the West with tide-water on the east, costing a hundred million of dollars, and spacious enough to float vessels carrying 2,000 tons, although it must be said that the provision which they did make for the collation and preservation of commercial statistics of transactions in and about the lake region, affords some indication of their appre-

ciation of the importance historically of preserving a record of these matters. These are some evidences of the extent and variety of the activities of the people of Western New York, and of the parts that they were to play in its historical development.

VARIED COLLECTIONS.

From the first, it has been the policy of the Society to build up its historical, genealogical and archaeological collections relating to the Niagara Frontier whenever it has been found possible to do so. Occasionally when books and manuscripts are offered in the market for sale, we are outbid and are unable to secure such material, which ought to be in the possession of the Society. We trust that our friends in other historical societies will appreciate our efforts in this direction, for there ought to be in the library and archives of the Buffalo Historical Society at least one copy of all the historical literature extant relating to the Niagara Frontier. It is the proper place for the preservation of such material in this fire-proof building, at all times open to the public, and easily accessible to students from all parts of the country.

We appreciate what our friends have already done and anything that they may do to aid us in the furtherance of this policy.

During the fifty years of its existence, this Society has accumulated a library approximately of 21,000 volumes, not including bound newspapers and public documents, nor a large amount of unbound material. This has been acquired largely by gift from those interested in it. It has a very large collection of valuable manuscripts, which were partially listed by our secretary and published as an appendix to Volume XIV of the Publications of the Society. The

more important of these include a collection of thousands of documents, known as the Holland Land Company's papers; also the Millard Fillmore papers, being his correspondence received while Vice-President and President of the United States. This collection has been recently acquired. It comprises a vast amount of letters and papers collected during Mr. Fillmore's official life at Washington; also should be mentioned numerous copies of French documents relating to the region, the originals of which are in the archives at Paris. There are other important papers, such as genealogies and manuscripts relating to the family life in Western New York and those relating to the Indians, the War of 1812, and to the Civil War.

In our archives will be found records of many of the principal families of Western New York, and as time goes on this material will become more and more valuable, as one will realize when he undertakes to trace the succession of family life in those portions of our country where records have not been preserved.

The Society is also the custodian of the theological library of the late John C. Lord, which is owned by the City of Buffalo.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Hazel Marshall Koerner, niece and heir-at-law of the late Charles D. Marshall, this Society has become the custodian of that part of his library, relating chiefly to the Niagara Frontier, comprising many rare and exceedingly valuable early editions of writers of the region, including 25 of the first issues of the *Jesuit Relations*. Mr. Charles D. Marshall was a life member of the Society, and his father, Orsamus H. Marshall, who wrote extensively and collected much material on the history of the region, is ranked as one of the chief contributors to the historical collections of this Society.

Among the notable contributions to these historical collections are the original papers prepared by the founders and early members of this Society, and read at club meetings during the first twelve years of its existence. These may be cited as an instance of what this Society has accomplished in the way of preserving a record of the life, services and culture of the people who settled this territory and then constituted its citizenship.

HISTORICAL INTEREST.

It has done even more in the way of creating interest in historical matters and governmental institutions. Local history is so interwoven with general history and the history of the Niagara Frontier with international events, that the functions of the Society have extended far afield to include the evolution of governmental institutions from the aboriginal occupation of the territory in and about Lake Erie, the Niagara Frontier, Lake Ontario, Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence valley. The sovereign control of all this territory from its aboriginal occupation to the present time, has made it necessary for our people to familiarize themselves with the French occupancy and control of most of it for one hundred years or more, and thereafter of its British occupancy and control for a much shorter period, and its final occupancy and control by the people of the United States and of the Dominion of Canada for approximately 130 years.

The research work of the Society has not been limited to these three periods, but has extended back to prehistoric times. That has involved an investigation into the life, habits, character and institutions of the aborigines, whose tenure of occupancy of this territory is variously estimated at from 150 to 250 years prior to its discovery by the whites,

evidences of which are to be found in many parts of it. No little time and attention have been devoted by some of our members to a study of such aboriginal occupation, and those familiar with the writings of Dr. William M. Beauchamp will recall the names of many places in Western New York associated with the adventurous but precarious life of its aboriginal inhabitants. This has added much interest to research work of this Society and many of the most interesting papers and lectures have dealt with that phase of our work.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.

No less interesting and profitable has been the study of the period of its discovery and settlement by the whites. The work of the missionaries among the aborigines and the frequent coming of traders up the St. Lawrence and across the State of New York into this territory and their experiences with the aborigines and hardships encountered in journeying through the primeval forests before there were roads, as well as the coming of pioneers with their families to make their homes in what was then a western wilderness, has made this territory a rich field for the historian and especially for such work as this Society was designed to carry forward. Fortunately family records have been preserved and a vast amount of genealogical material accumulated when in a more or less fugitive condition, which would have been lost, had not there been some such repository as this for its preservation.

ADDITIONS TO ITS COLLECTIONS.

Since the Society moved into this building it has made large additions yearly to its genealogical collection and it undertakes to preserve such material as is put into proper form and presented to it, in relation to the family life of

this city. The Department of Vital Statistics has so enlarged the scope of its work as to obviate the necessity of that work being duplicated by the Society. There is much, however, in the succession of family life that does not appear in the records of that Bureau. This Society undertakes to preserve all matters of that character committed to it. Such services to the community cannot be over-estimated. It is essentially a public institution, not only performing the functions of an educational character, but also preserving records that otherwise might be scattered and ultimately lost to the world. We owe the founders of this Society a debt of gratitude for their forethought in wisely laying its foundations and in providing for the important functions, it was to serve in a growing community of a cosmopolitan character and in a territory rich in historic associations. Its work commenced fifty years after the burning of the village of Buffalo and thirty years after the foundation of the city, so that some of its charter members were personally familiar with most of the important events that had occurred in the interim and took the pains of reducing them to writing in order to insure a record of them. Now that this Society is one of the public institutions of the City, which contributes to its maintenance, it will chronicle all important matters occurring in the future. When we consider the value of such a record to a growing municipality like Buffalo, we will readily appreciate that it is worth all it costs to maintain such an institution as this, where public records may be preserved as well as records made of current events.

RENEWED ACTIVITY.

For a time after many of its founders had passed away and interest in its work was overshadowed by the demands

of other municipal activities, its growth was somewhat retarded. Wm. C. Bryant, Judge James Sheldon, Dr. Joseph C. Greene and other active officers of the Society kept its light burning. Upon the accession of Mr. Andrew Langdon to its presidency in 1894, it entered upon a period of renewed activity. He impressed upon the members the importance of securing a new and permanent home for it, where its collections would be more accessible than they were in the third story of the Library Building. His familiarity with park conditions in other cities satisfied him that it were perfectly feasible and practicable for the Society to have its permanent home in a building of artistic design on park lands without detracting from their beauty. Accordingly he was the first to propose that this Society have such a home in Delaware Park and that the city contribute something toward the expense of the building and assume the burden of its maintenance. The Hon. James M. Smith, who was actively interested in the Society and one of its largest patrons, concurred in the opinion of Mr. Langdon and both felt that if the Society were not permitted to locate its home on park lands, possibly it might not be able for some years to acquire a site elsewhere.

LEGISLATIVE REVIEW.

Accordingly, Judge Smith drafted a bill, authorizing the construction of an historical building on park lands, which I introduced in the Assembly of 1897, and which became Chapter 310 of the Laws of that year. That act also provided that after its construction, the City should annually appropriate in addition to what might be necessary for the lighting and heating of such building, a sum of not less than five thousand dollars for its care, and maintenance, and for the care, maintenance and preservation of its historical

and scientific collections, books, papers and properties in said building. And such act also provided that the Mayor, the Comptroller, the Corporation Counsel, the Superintendent of Education, the President of the Common Council and the President of the Board of Park Commissioners, should be ex-officio, managers of the said Historical Society in addition to the Managers elected from the members of the Society.

Chapter 65 of the Laws of 1898, which repealed and superseded Chapter 728 of the Laws of 1897, authorized the investment of the trust funds of the Historical Society, in the purchase of a site and the erection of a building for its use. A committee consisting of Hon. James N. Adam, George H. Lewis, Hon. James M. Smith, Dr. Joseph C. Greene and President Andrew Langdon, was appointed to confer with the Committee of the Board of Aldermen, or with the Board of Park Commissioners, or both, with reference to the location of an Historical Society Building on park lands. An inspection of park sites followed; and in addition to the above named committee, several other members of the Board of Managers met with the members of the committee, at the Concourse, now the site of the Albright Art Gallery, and selected that spot as a site for an Historical Society building.

The Board of Park Commissioners were equally divided, six approving that site, and six dissenting therefrom. A free site was offered for the Historical Society Building by Mr. Bronson C. Rumsey, on lands owned by him adjoining the park on the south and on the east side of Elmwood avenue. That offer, however, was not accepted. While the matter was under further consideration, the sentiment of the Society was expressed in a paragraph written by Judge Smith and appended to a resolution offered by Mr. George

A. Stringer, declaring in favor of the Concourse as the Society's choice of a site for a building, which was adopted on May 27, 1897. I need not repeat that resolution. It will be found in Volume V of the Publications of the Historical Society, at page 392, where will be found a record of the next and succeeding steps taken to secure the location of an Historical Society Building on park lands.

When the bill appropriating \$300,000 for the Pan American Exposition became law, it occurred to me, and I proposed at a Board meeting of the Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society held on June 1, 1899, that the \$50,000 available for the construction of the Pan American Exposition building might well be increased to \$100,000 and a permanent fireproof building constructed, on park lands contiguous to the other Pan American buildings, which should be suitable for the use of the State of New York at the Pan American Exposition, and afterwards become the home of the Buffalo Historical Society. This view was concurred in by the other members of the Board of Managers, and in the course of time the matter was presented to the Hon. John G. Milburn, President of the Pan American Exposition, and to the other Directors of that Company, and also to Hon. Daniel N. Lockwood, Hon. Frederick Greiner and to the other General Managers of the Pan American Exposition appointed on the part of the State. The members of these two Boards visited the grounds in the month of December, 1899, and after thoroughly canvassing the subject, gave their approval of the proposed location of the New York State Building on park lands.

In January, while a member of the Assembly, I introduced an amendment, authorizing the expenditure of \$100,000 towards the erection of the building out of the \$300,000 appropriated by the State for its use at the exposi-

tion, and providing for uniting therewith and adding thereto the sum of \$25,000 to be expended by the City of Buffalo, and such funds as the Buffalo Historical Society could make available, in the erection of the Historical Society building on park lands, and providing that such building should be a fireproof and permanent structure, and that at the close of the Exposition it should become the property of the Buffalo Historical Society for its use and the preservation of its historical properties. The bill passed the Legislature and was approved by Governor Roosevelt, March 26, 1900, and became Chapter 230 of the laws of that year.

CONTROVERSY OVER BUILDING DESIGN.

Immediately a controversy arose over the matter of designing the building. The regular proceeding was that the State Architect should prepare plans, but President Langdon thought that the purposes of the Society could be better served, if a local architect were secured for that work. Accordingly, the Hon. Wilson S. Bissell, then a member of the Board, and President Langdon prevailed upon Governor Roosevelt to permit the New York State Commission, the Historical Society and the City of Buffalo to employ an architect of their own selection, in order that the purposes which the building was to serve might be the better provided for. Accordingly Mr. George Cary of Buffalo was selected for that work in place of the State Architect, and as a result, we have this beautiful building designed by Mr. Cary and built from the aggregation of the three funds, costing approximately \$170,000, without the bronze doors afterwards presented by President Langdon, its marble cornice, and other additions and improvements subsequently made and paid for by the City of Buffalo. Had it not been for the insistence of President Langdon, it is not likely that we

would have had this beautiful building, and possibly no building at all. This Society as authorized by law contributed \$45,000, from its permanent funds towards the construction of this building, which would otherwise have been built of brick instead of marble.

CREDIT DUE MR. LANGDON.

In my annual addresses as president I have taken occasion to mention some of the important services rendered and contributions made to this Society by our Honorary President, Mr. Langdon, during his long official connection with it. As its chief executive officer, his name will ever be associated with this Society during its transition period from its position as tenant in the upper rooms of the Public Library Building, to its acquisition and possession of its permanent home in the beautiful marble building on park lands.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

This Society has been also fortunate in having in its official life and among its counsellors and managers, from the first, many of Buffalo's most prominent citizens. As was said by Mr. Oliver G. Steele, in 1873: "The success of the Society has been the result of the steady faithfulness of its officers. It has been a labor of love with them, and the exhibition before you shows what can be accomplished by well-directed personal efforts, with but little expenditure of money." The Society was then a tenant in the Western Savings Bank Building.

It is impossible on this occasion to mention the names of all who have in various capacities served the Society. The list is long and comprises, as I have already said, many of Buffalo's most prominent citizens. The Society has had twenty-five presidents during its existence of fifty years and

as many boards of councillors and managers; many of those, however, served for several years in various other official capacities. President Fillmore presided over the Society for five years; the Hon. James Sheldon for eleven years; and our Honorary President, Mr. Andrew Langdon, for sixteen consecutive years (from 1894 to 1909, inclusive), a period equalling the joint terms of President Fillmore and the Hon. James Sheldon. Of the twenty-five presidents, three only now survive, namely: William H. H. Newman, who was president for 1879 and 1885; Andrew Langdon, and the speaker.

Those who have served the Society in the capacity of president are:

MILLARD FILLMORE,	WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN,
HENRY W. ROGERS,	HON. ELIAS S. HAWLEY,
REV. ALBERT T. CHESTER,	HON. JAMES M. SMITH,
ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL,	WILLIAM HODGE,
HON. NATHAN K. HALL,	WILLIAM DANA FOBES,
WILLIAM H. GREENE,	EMMOR HAINES,
ORLANDO ALLEN,	JAMES TILLINGHAST,
OLIVER G. STEELE,	WILLIAM K. ALLEN,
HON. JAMES SHELDON,	GEORGE S. HAZARD,
WILLIAM C. BRYANT,	JOSEPH C. GREENE, M. D.,
CAPT. EBEN P. DORR,	JULIUS H. DAWES,
HON. WM. P. LETCHWORTH,	ANDREW LANGDON,
	HENRY W. HILL.

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.

Among other executive officers, counsellors and managers have been the following well-known Buffalonians: Lewis F. Allen, Charles D. Norton, Guy H. Salisbury, George R. Babcock, William Dorsheimer, George W. Clinton, Charles W. Hosmer, George Gorham, Dr. James P. White, Warren

Bryant, William K. Scott, Sherman S. Jewett, William A. Bird, Gibson T. Williams, Francis H. Root, Alonzo Richmond, John T. Hudson, Samuel G. Cornell, George S. Armstrong, Solomon G. Guthrie, Sherman S. Jewett, Dennis Bowen, John Allen, Jr., Calvin F. S. Thomas, Merwin S. Hawley, Joseph Dart, George F. Lee, William Ketchum, William Fleming, Nathaniel Wilgus, Pascal P. Pratt, Thomas French, Dr. Jared H. Tilden, Eric L. Hedstrom, Leon F. Harvey, Samson Falk, George W. Townsend, Charles B. Germain, Maurice Kingsley, George C. Barnum, Hon. James M. Smith, Otto Benser, Jacob Stern, John Blocher, Isaac Geirshofer, James Tillinghast, Josiah Letchworth, Ellis Webster, Dr. Frederick H. James, James Frazer Gluck, Miss Charlotte Mulligan, Mrs. Emily Babcock Alward, Mrs. Mary Norton Thompson, Hon. James N. Adam, Edmund W. Granger, Cyrus K. Remington, George Howard Lewis, Charles W. Goodyear, Joseph P. Dudley and others.

All the foregoing officers, except the three¹ presidents heretofore mentioned and Mrs. Emily B. Alward, are deceased.

In addition thereto a large number of prominent Buffalonians, who have served the Society as members of its boards of counsellors and managers, are still living, and their names appear in the list of officers of the Society, to be published in the proceedings of this anniversary.

The present Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society are: Andrew Langdon, honorary president; Henry W. Hill, president; Charles R. Wilson, vice-president; Frank H. Severance, secretary and treasurer; George A. Stringer, Willis O. Chapin, Henry R. Howland, J. N. Larned, John J. McWilliams, G. Barrett Rich, Henry A.

1. Since reduced to two, by the death of Wm. H. H. Newman, Oct. 24, 1912.

Richmond, Dr. Albert H. Briggs, Robert R. Hefford, Dr. Lee H. Smith, Robert W. Day, James Sweeney, Hugh Kennedy, Robert S. Donaldson, Frank M. Hollister and William A. Galpin; and also its six ex-officio members. Some of these have served the Society many years, and all are devoted to its interests and the important work which it is carrying forward in discovering, preserving and publishing the materials constituting in the aggregate our local history. The annual Publications of this Society are the embodiment in part of that work, which has been diligently prosecuted for half a century.

Prior to 1881, the Board of Counsellors, now styled Board of Managers, consisted of nine members, and thereafter of fifteen members until 1896, when the number was increased to twenty members, and in addition thereto the Mayor of the City, the Comptroller, the Corporation Counsel, the Superintendent of Education, the President of the Common Council and the President of the Park Board, were made ex-officio members of the Board. These officers, with the exception of the secretary-treasurer, served the Society gratuitously and devoted time to the administration of its affairs. At one period of its existence, when its resources and collections were small, it had little in which to interest the public other than the original papers presented by its members. But its administrative officers were faithful to its interests, and in the course of time it began to receive substantial additions to its library and manuscript collections, and has now become recognized as one of the permanent educational institutions of the City.

PUBLICATIONS.

The Society has published, since 1879, fifteen volumes of historical papers, all of them except Vols. I and II, under

the editorial supervision of the secretary, Frank H. Severance. Notable among these volumes are the two volumes containing the writings and speeches of Millard Fillmore, and the three volumes devoted to the history of New York State's waterways, and related topics. Since 1902, to date, the Buffalo Historical Society has without question published more documentary and narrative matter relating to the history of its home region than any other historical organization in America.

CO-OPERATION WITH OTHER SOCIETIES.

The Society has through its publications and its participation in the work of State and National Historical Societies, within recent years, gained for itself a wide and enviable reputation among learned institutions, whether societies or universities, colleges and public libraries, throughout the United States and Canada.

SOME THINGS DONE.

In its earliest years it secured from old residents large numbers of papers giving their personal reminiscences, constituting an invaluable source of information regarding the earlier years of Buffalo and Western New York.

It collected some hundreds of portraits of early residents of Buffalo.

It rescued and preserved the remains of the great Seneca orator, Red Jacket, and those of several other chiefs of his nation.

It secured a suitable lot in Forest Lawn for their burial, and with the assistance of generous friends erected thereon at a cost of several thousand dollars, an artistic statue of Red Jacket, perhaps the finest example of the sculptor's art in America portraying a great Indian.

At a later period it brought to Buffalo and reinterred in the lot the body of the distinguished Indian engineer and soldier, a member of General Grant's staff in the Civil War, General Ely S. Parker. Here at a later date, it also placed the remains of the celebrated Indian athlete, Deer Foot.

It acquired, cleared, fenced, and otherwise improved a tract of land near Williamsville, where during the War of 1812, was a soldiers' camp and hospital, and where were buried many of the New York militia who served on the Niagara Frontier in that War.

It enlisted the interest of the Lincoln Birthday Association and the trustees of the Julius Francis Memorial Fund and ultimately secured to the Historical Society the valuable collection of Lincoln and Civil War relics formed by Mr. Francis, and procured with the Francis Fund the artistic bronze statue of Lincoln, which now adorns the central court of the Historical Building.

It has shared from the beginning in the work of associated organizations which, under the name of the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, has determined and marked many of the more important historic sites from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario. Through its secretary, it made the original report on Historic Sites, which has guided the Landmarks Association in the erection of tablets.

MEMBERSHIP.

The membership of this Society consists approximately of 110 life members and 500 annual members, representing nearly that number of the families resident in Western New York, and still there is room for others, who are interested in this work and who would like to receive the Society's publications.

AGE OF RESEARCH.

This is an age of research in various fields of activity and especially so in the domain of history.

It is said that Aristotle examined one hundred and fifty constitutions as a preparation for writing his "Politics."

Exploration is going on the world over and man is now able to trace his existence back as far as the Neolithic age, antedating the building of the Egyptian pyramids by thousands of years.

All lands and all ages are yielding up their treasures to the archaeologist and explorer. The records of the past are being uncovered and translated into the living languages of the day. In view of the discoveries now being made in both hemispheres, no one is bold enough to predict what may be brought to light in the future.

This territory may not be as promising as some other parts of the Western Hemisphere, but still it is rich enough to engage the attention of the members of this Society for many years to come. We have no ambitious designs to enter those fields which more properly belong to archaeological research organizations, and for the present we are content to carry forward the work proposed for this Society by its founders, though somewhat amplified as hereinbefore indicated. All this is done not merely for the purpose of accumulating a mass of materials unrelated to present day problems, nor merely for the pleasure of retracing the steps of our predecessors, but rather to classify, digest and assimilate whatever may be helpful in the solution of such problems and may throw light on the complex questions of our modern civilization and for the further purpose of enlightening our minds, broadening our culture and making us better citizens.

In the slightly paraphrased language of Wordsworth,
all this is to

“Nourish imagination in her growth
And give the mind that apprehensive power
By which she is made quick to recognize
The moral qualities and the scope of things.”

After an interval of music, a bronze tablet to the memory
of Millard Fillmore, which had been placed on the east wall
of the Central Court, was unveiled, Mr. Frank M. Hollister
making the following address :

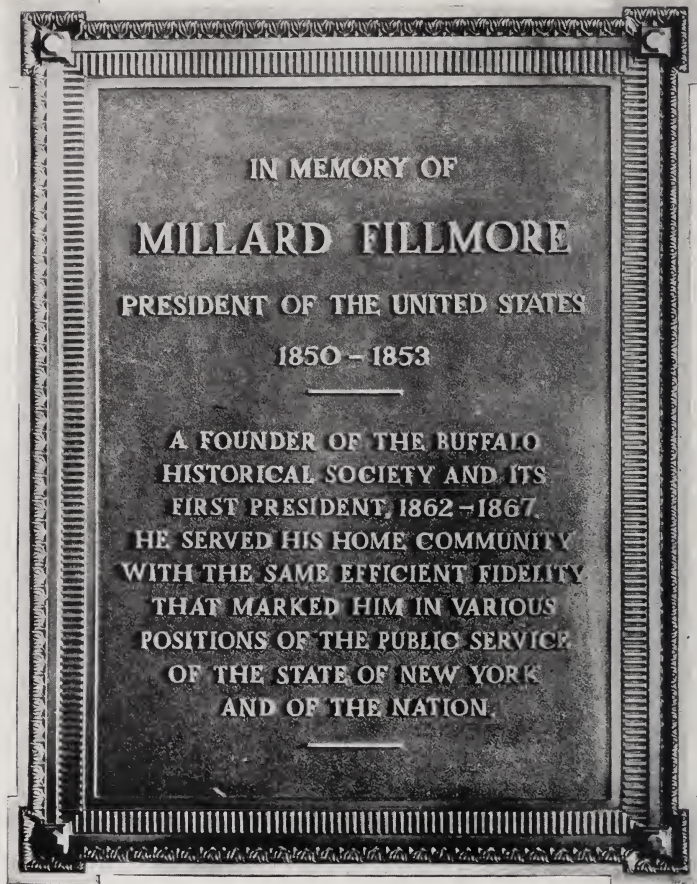
MILLARD FILLMORE

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNVEILING OF THE
MEMORIAL TABLET AT THE BUFFALO
HISTORICAL BUILDING
MAY 20, 1912.

By FRANK M. HOLLISTER

It would have been a gracious and fitting recognition of its obligations to Millard Fillmore if the Buffalo Historical Society had resolved to affix to its walls a memorial tablet in his honor solely because of the fact that he was one of its founders, in 1862, and its first president, from 1862 to 1867. But it is one of the many worthy objects of the institution, besides providing a safe repository for local memorabilia, to perpetuate the memory of the city's eminent sons. Among these worthies, who can be named that is more deserving of the honor we are conferring today than the man to whom was conceded for a generation the title of "first citizen" in this community, who served his state as legislator and fiscal officer with efficiency and his country with patriotic zeal and perfect integrity as Member of Congress, Vice-President and President of the United States? I know of none.

The commendable desire of the Buffalo Historical Society to honor the memory of Millard Fillmore finds fitting expression in the inscription on this enduring bronze, but this is by no means the first occasion on which the members of the Society have formally commemorated the



TABLET TO MILLARD FILLMORE,
UNVEILED ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
MAY 20, 1912.

character and public services of their first president. Various tributes and addresses, together with a collection of Mr. Fillmore's own letters and speeches, have been published in the tenth and eleventh volumes of the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, issued in 1906 and 1907 respectively.

Mr. Fillmore was often called a "lucky man." Although gifted with rare personal graces and a most dignified and imposing presence he lacked fire, magnetism and the arts of a clever politician. Yet by dint of tireless industry, inspired by a high sense of public duty, he won the entire confidence of the people of his city and state and mounted by rapid steps from the humblest to the highest office in less than twenty years. Judge Stow predicted that he would reach the Presidency. "General Taylor might defy Mexican bullets," he said, "but he could not survive Fillmore's luck." The sequel proved that President Taylor's luck was more enviable than his successor's. There is hardly to be found in our history a more tragic episode than the fate of President Fillmore who signed the Fugitive Slave bill under a compelling sense of duty, thereby doing the country invaluable service and yet, in consequence, bringing down upon himself a storm of obloquy, the effects of which are felt to this day.

The Southern men who forced this act upon Henry Clay and the special committee that devised the compromise measures were playing a deep game. It is now known,—indeed Mr. Seward publicly asserted soon after the passage of the bill—that "political ends, merely political ends, not real evils resulting from the escape of slaves, constituted the prevailing motives to the enactment." It was a plan devised by the disunionists to force an issue in such a way as to put the North in a false position—as the aggressor.

The Constitution required the return of fugitive slaves. If Congress, or the President, refused to enforce this constitutional guaranty of Southern rights—and the Act was made so drastic that it was thought it could not win enough Northern votes to secure passage—then the extremists could fire the Southern heart with the cry that the North had broken the compact and defied the Constitution. It may now be predicted with confidence that history will count the passage of those measures one of the fortunate events that helped materially to shape the conditions that made a universal rising of the North in defense of the Union possible. The abolitionists who denounced these measures did well. That was their part in the drama. But the responsibility of deciding whether or not all dangerous disputes between the North and South should be settled or left open by the acceptance or rejection of this compromise, rested on President Fillmore. His guiding lights were Law, the Constitution and the Union, as they were of Daniel Webster and Henry Clay and, we may safely say, of Abraham Lincoln.

It is interesting and illuminating to digress for a moment here and to note how closely Lincoln's attitude toward the Fugitive Slave bill and slavery approximated to that of Webster, Clay and Fillmore. We know that Clay virtually framed the compromise measures of 1850 and that Webster supported them. Fillmore in a letter to Webster, dated October 23, 1850, said: "I have sworn to support the Constitution. I know no higher law that conflicts with it. . . . I mean at every hazard to perform my duty. The Union must and shall be preserved and this can only be done by a faithful and impartial administration of the laws. . . . If there be any provision in it (the Fugitive Slave law) endangering the liberty of those who are free it should be modified so as to secure the free blacks from such an abuse

of the object of the law and, that done, we of the North have no just cause of complaint. God knows that I detest slavery, but it is an existing evil and we must endure it and give it such protection as is guaranteed by the Constitution till we can get rid of it without destroying the last hope of free government in the world." Compare this declaration with that of Lincoln in a letter to J. F. Speed, a slaveholder, in 1855: "I acknowledge your rights and my obligations under the Constitution in regard to your slaves. I confess I hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and caught and carried back to their stripes and unrequited toil, but I bite my lips and keep quiet." In 1858, in the joint debate with Douglas, Mr. Lincoln said: "I have never hesitated to say and I do not now hesitate to say that under the Constitution of the United States the people of the Southern states are entitled to a Fugitive Slave Law." Like President Fillmore and like Henry Clay, however, Lincoln would have modified some of the harsher features of the law. Lincoln in this same year, 1858, declared Henry Clay to have been his "beau ideal of a statesman—the man for whom I fought all my humble life." Can we doubt that he would have voted for the Clay Compromise of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law, had he been in Congress at that time? Or that he would, like Mr. Fillmore, have signed those measures had he, in 1850, been in the Presidential chair? I think it most probable that he would have acted with these men, in that crisis, because he was of their school and was guided by their lights. His first thought was for the Union. But, thanks to an over-ruling Providence, Abraham Lincoln was not blighted and spoiled for future usefulness by the cruel responsibility that for nearly two generations kept Webster and Fillmore under a heavy cloud of misunderstanding and reproach.

We who live more than half a century after the events that led up to the Civil War cannot weigh fairly the actions of the statesmen who meant the Compromise of 1850 to be at least as lasting a settlement as the Missouri Compromise of 1820, without bearing in mind two or three important facts. One of these is that the Clay Compromise, in spite of popular resistance, here and there, to specific enforcements of the Fugitive Slave Law, did allay agitation and produce a quiet breathing spell which continued up to 1854 when Senator Douglas, of Illinois, devised, or adopted, the fatal "Repeal the Missouri Compromise." In 1859 Mr. Fillmore wrote to the Union meeting in New York: "In an evil hour this Pandora's box of slavery was again opened by what I conceive to be an unjustifiable attempt to force slavery upon Kansas by a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the floods of evils now swelling and threatening to overthrow the Constitution and deluge the land with fraternal blood may all be traced to this unfortunate act." It was unfortunate in every sense except as a means of putting the South, which blindly accepted the deadly gift, in the wrong, and of stiffening and welding anti-slavery sentiment in the North. In the wild days that followed there was no chance to pause and do justice to the motives of the statesmen of 1850, who saved the North from being put in the false position of refusing to grant the South her constitutional rights. One or two generations passed before the Northern public and the historians began to recognize and concede the disinterested and patriotic purpose that animated the originators and defenders of the Compromise of 1850.

Mr. Fillmore would have been gratified by a nomination for the Presidency by the Whig party in 1852, without doubt. Every President covets such a verdict of "well

done" from his party and country after the trying ordeal of a first term. But this honor was denied him by the political conditions of the time. The Whig Convention of 1852 approved the Compromise acts, including the Fugitive Slave law, by a vote of 227 to 66. On the first ballot for candidates Fillmore received 133 votes, Scott 131 and Webster 29. If the friends of Fillmore and Webster had combined they could have nominated either one of the two leaders. But a certain number of the followers of each, if freed from their instructions, were resolved to go to Scott and on the fifty-third ballot Scott was nominated. Mr. Fillmore wrote a few days later: "I was not disappointed nor had I anything to regret in the result of the Baltimore Convention. The approbation which that Convention expressed of the policy which I had pursued, in the resolutions which it adopted, was more gratifying to me than to have received the nomination." A friend of Mr. Fillmore's, the Hon. George R. Babcock, of Buffalo, had a letter in his pocket written by the President, withdrawing his name at the juncture, which he, Mr. Babcock, judged most opportune. For some unknown reason this letter was not presented before the break to Scott occurred. In this confidential note to Mr. Babcock, Mr. Fillmore wrote: "You will not suffer my name to be dragged into a contest for a nomination which I have never sought, do not now seek, and would not take if tendered, but in discharge of an implied obligation which every man assumes upon uniting with a political party, which is to yield to the will of a majority of those with whom he acts." In the ensuing election Pierce received 254 electoral votes, Scott 42. Mr. Rhodes's significant explanation of the Democratic tidal wave is—"because that party unreservedly endorsed the compromise of 1850, and in its approval neither platform nor candidate

halted." He adds: "The greater fidelity of the Democratic party to the settlement of 1850 was in itself sufficient reason for his (Pierce's) election." While Mr. Fillmore supported Gen. Scott, his party's candidate, in good faith, there must have been for him in Pierce's success, on such grounds, a certain measure of that consolation which the French philosopher says we find in the misfortunes of even our best friends.

As "a statesman in eclipse," a President of the United States in retirement, Mr. Fillmore knew what the dignity of his position, self-respect and duty to his country demanded of him and never failed to meet these requirements. Barring his nominal candidature for the American party in 1856, he took no part in public affairs after leaving the Presidency. He sought relief in foreign travel and found satisfaction in all of the public-spirited activities of a good citizen in his home city. He was a founder of the University of Buffalo and its Chancellor from 1846 to 1874; a founder and President of the General Hospital; a founder of the Fine Arts Academy; a founder and President of the Buffalo Historical Society, and first President of the Buffalo Club.

In summing up this brief study of Millard Fillmore it may be said confidently that while not a statesman of the first rank, not a consummate party leader like Clay, nor a profound constitutional lawyer like Webster, he was one of those public servants of the best American type who, without the advantages of education and powerful connections, rise level to the requirements of every public trust put in their hands. When he left the Presidency Mr. Rhodes states that "the general sentiment proclaimed that he had filled the place with ability and honor." His rectitude of purpose and personal integrity were never ques-

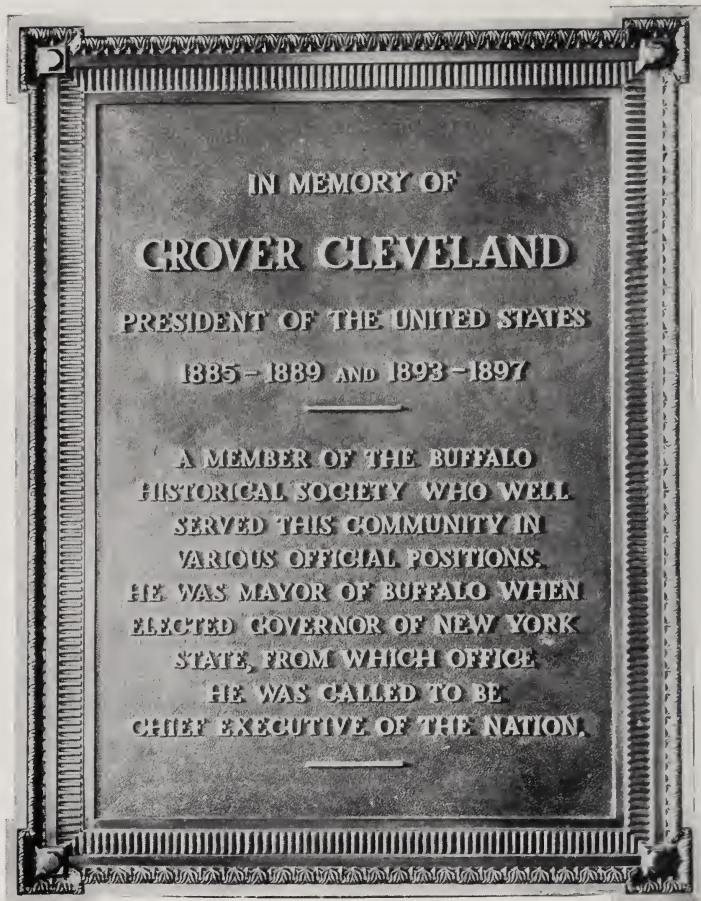
tioned. He was never arrogant, never played to the gallery and never failed in respect for the courts or reverence for the Constitution. James Bryce acutely observes that ambition such as Lord Beaconsfield's "could not afford to be scrupulous." Again he says that a statesman "who sets power and fame before him as the main ends to be pursued . . . will not be likely to allow kindness or compassion to stand in his way; nor will he be very regardful of truth." Millard Fillmore's ambition was not of this sinister type. It was completely subordinated to the demands of patriotism, loyalty to his friends, justice to his rivals and a fine sense of personal and official dignity. There have been incumbents of the high office he held, statesmen of much greater pretensions and wider fame, who do not compare favorably with Mr. Fillmore in these important characteristics.

"In a just estimate of our vice-presidents who have become presidents," says Rhodes, "we should class Fillmore with Arthur and not with Tyler and Johnson." Arthur gave the country a wise administration and retired with plaudits scarcely more general than those given to Fillmore in 1853. The harsh judgment passed upon the latter a little later was incident to "the irrepressible conflict" that began to divide the country in 1854. If we were called upon to classify Fillmore with other Presidents of the United States we might fairly couple him with McKinley. While McKinley had more warmth, tact and persuasiveness than Fillmore they were both patriotic, wise and high-minded men who alike won national reputation and preferment by originating a protective tariff law while chairman of the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Mr. Fillmore surpassed even McKinley in distinction of appearance and dignity of manner, but both were remark-

ably handsome men and gifted with rare social graces. Fate put upon Fillmore a fearful responsibility which he discharged conscientiously and thereby became anathema to the dominant forces in American politics for half a century. McKinley was translated at the height of his popularity and his faults were forgotten.

But whatever the world said of Millard Fillmore, before or after his death, his friends who knew him best were consoled by the knowledge of the fact that he was supported in serene patience to the end of his life by his own approving conscience.

Mr. Hollister was followed by Mr. John G. Milburn, who spoke on Grover Cleveland, to whose memory a tablet, similar in design to that of President Fillmore, had been erected on the west wall of the Central Court. The silk flag which covered it was removed as Mr. Milburn spoke.



TABLET TO GROVER CLEVELAND,
UNVEILED ON THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
MAY 20, 1912.

GROVER CLEVELAND

ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNVEILING OF THE
MEMORIAL TABLET AT THE BUFFALO
HISTORICAL BUILDING,
MAY 20, 1912.

By JOHN G. MILBURN

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Grover Cleveland came to Buffalo in the year 1854 in the eighteenth year of his age. His father had died in the previous year leaving his widow and a large family dependent upon themselves. He left his home in Holland Patent to establish himself as a self-supporting member of the family, and was bound for the city of Cleveland, attracted there by the fact that it bore his own name, and perhaps with the feeling that the name would prove, as it were, a talisman for him. But his journey came to an end in Buffalo at the instance of an uncle of his; and here he lived for the next twenty-eight years. Thus, as so often happens, chance determined this momentous episode in his life.

Not long after his arrival we find him settled as a clerk in the law office of Rogers & Bowen, a leading office then as now. There he remained about nine years; in the meantime—in 1859—having been admitted to the bar. In 1863 he was appointed Assistant District Attorney of the county, and performed the duties of that office for about

two years and a half. Defeated for the office of District Attorney at the election in 1865 he thereafter devoted himself to his work as a lawyer in private practice until the year 1882, excepting during the three years between January 1, 1871, and January 1, 1874, when he was Sheriff of the county. In this period he was at different times a member of the firms of Laning, Cleveland & Folsom; Bass, Cleveland & Bissell; Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard; and Cleveland, Bissell, Sicard & Goodyear. Elected Mayor of the city in November, 1881, his active professional career in Buffalo came to an end, as during the year 1882 he devoted himself almost exclusively to his public duties. When, on January 1, 1883, he moved to Albany to take up the duties of the office of Governor to which he had been elected in November, 1882, it happened, as a result of the extraordinary course of his career, that Buffalo ceased to be his home. That he should have been elected Mayor by the people of this city in 1881; Governor by the people of this state in 1882; and President by the people of the nation in 1884, sounds, as I say it, like a tale out of wonderland. But all this happened to him and more, and we rejoiced in it; accepting the regret over his severance from his home city with the aid of the philosophy that teaches us to expect some alloy in all things, however fine.

I think it most appropriate on this occasion to concentrate our attention on that portion of Grover Cleveland's life which was identified with Buffalo. Between a man's eighteenth year and his forty-sixth the forces of his nature are at their maximum, and out of their operation there gradually emerge his ultimate powers, qualities and characteristics. The man who on the 4th day of March, 1885, entered the White House as President of the United States was the product of the experience of those years

shaping and moulding his natural traits and qualities. The circumstances and opportunities of later years directed his energies into new channels and vastly enlarged his sphere of action, but the man himself was the man who had developed and matured right here. Hence the rightful claim of Buffalo to him as a true son of her own; her natural pride in him; and her unflinching faith in all his undertakings. Her estimate of him was based on the accumulated observations of all the varying phases of a life in its passage from boyhood to maturity. What that estimate was we shall see.

Grover Cleveland sprang from a good stock. Of the men and women in the line of his ancestry it may be said, speaking broadly, that they were simple in their lives, industrious, frugal, of a quiet force of character, and observant of the pieties. It is pleasant to record of his great-great-grandfather, the Rev. Aaron Cleveland, that he was a friend of Benjamin Franklin, who wrote of him at his death as "a gentleman of humane and pious disposition, indefatigable in his ministry, easy and affable in his conversation, open and sincere in his friendship, and above every species of meanness and dissimulation." His great-grandfather, another Aaron Cleveland, seems to have been of a lively disposition, judging from a poem of his which has been preserved, in which he treats of the stocks blended in his blood, attributing to the Cleveland strain wit and social charm, and to another, the Porter strain—which it is interesting to note he associates with affairs of state—calmness, discretion and wisdom. His father was a graduate of Yale University, and of him what better can I do than to quote Grover Cleveland's own words: "Looking back over my life, nothing seems to me to have in it more both of pathos and interest than the spectacle of my father,

a hard-working country clergyman, bringing up acceptably a family of nine children, educating each member so that in after life none suffered any deprivation in this respect, and that, too, upon his salary which at no time exceeded a thousand dollars a year. It would be impossible to exaggerate the strength of character thus revealed. It emphasized the qualities of pluck and endurance which have made our people what they are." With such an ancestry we may safely conclude that the boy who came to Buffalo in 1854 had in him the stuff of which sturdy, self-reliant, modest and conscientious men are made,—elemental men as I like to call them.

Twenty-eight years or so pass, and what were the effects of time and circumstance upon this promising material? In 1882 I had known him for about seven years, and for the most of that time quite intimately. I observed his work, qualities and methods as a lawyer with the curiosity and interest of a critical junior, and had the additional advantage of association with him in various cases and matters. I remember that he early made a very distinct impression on my mind. He was certainly not showy or pushing. He was not aggressively ambitious in the sense of forcing the pace. He was not a courtier, artfully placing himself in the way of the rich, the powerful, or the successful. With his nature he could not have had these characteristics. With his nature and powers he was just what it might have been predicted he would be under normal conditions;—firm and independent; industrious, painstaking, tenacious; laboriously working out every problem and taking nothing for granted; intolerant of meanness, intrigue and duplicity; taking him all in all a lawyer of the first rank in character, principle, intellectual power, influence and efficiency, doing well and thoroughly all the work,

in court and out of court, he undertook. That is the position he had attained at the bar at the close of his active professional career in Buffalo in the year 1882. It was a position he had earned by long years of hard work; by his faculty for clear thinking and forcible expression; by the soundness of his judgment; by his inbred probity and integrity; by the common faith in his masterfulness, sincerity and rugged honesty in what he believed and said as well as in what he did.

He was in the front rank not only as a lawyer but as a citizen. From his earliest years he respected and conscientiously performed the political and civic duties of citizenship. He believed in the principles of his party, and sought to make them prevail by that active participation in politics, without thought of office or reward, which is the duty of every citizen. He ardently desired good government; he knew that it was only to be secured through the intelligent attention and earnest efforts of the individual citizen; and it was always a matter of strict principle with him to respond freely and cheerfully to that obligation. This was his relation to the political and civic movements of his time; and it was only at the call of duty that he stepped out of the ranks to become a leader.

The man as we met him in social intercourse was human, helpful, genial—a loyal friend and delightful companion. He was a familiar figure on our streets, known of all men as he came and went; dignified but entirely unaffected in his bearing; positive in his opinions and frank in speech; a desired and welcome guest in our homes; and universally esteemed as an able, upright, just, fearless man, who would be a tower of strength in any emergency that might arise.

The emergency came, and it bears out all that I have said. I need not dwell upon the municipal situation here in

1881. It is enough to say that the able, fearless, militant man in the community was needed, and Grover Cleveland stood clearly out as that man. In such a crisis a man is picked on his merits and that he was picked as the fittest man to lead the forces of order was Buffalo's recognition of his distinction as a lawyer, his public spirit as a citizen, and his indomitable qualities as a man. This was the beginning of his extraordinary career in the public service as Mayor, Governor and President, which superabundantly justified her estimate and judgment of him.

Beyond this point it is not necessary for me to follow him. Thereafter it is history that deals with his deeds and achievements. He has nothing to fear at her hands; but rather, by the operation of comparisons and contrasts and the more complete knowledge of his aims, purposes and efforts, an increase of fame and the security of his position among our really great Presidents. Meanwhile we may well be content with the trend in that direction reflected in many weighty utterances, the latest of which is the encomium a few days ago of the Chief Justice of the United States, in which he spoke of him as yielding to no man that ever filled the great office of President "in high purpose, in great devotion to duty, in the simplicity of American life, and the enduring and everlasting purpose to maintain undiminished all the rights and liberties of the American people."

We have assembled to dedicate a tablet in this noble building of the Buffalo Historical Society in commemoration of the life and services of Grover Cleveland; and, may I add, in the hope that it will prove to be but the precursor of a monument that will adequately and visibly express the public spirit of the people of Buffalo.

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF BUFFALO

By MRS. JULIA F. SNOW

EARLY RECOLLECTIONS OF BUFFALO

READ BEFORE THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MAY 19, 1908.¹

By MRS. JULIA F. SNOW

Being only a "snapper up of unconsidered trifles," and no historian, merely a story-teller, and not much of that, I give no dates; only suggestions of period.

One of the first things which I remember was a balloon ascension from Niagara Square. The family of my father, James Miller, including my very small self and some "friends," saw it from the roof of my father's house.² It stood on the corner of Main and Mohawk streets, now occupied by Hens & Kelly's department store. It was a two-and-one-half story brick house, a good one for the time. The roof had a low brick wall all around it to protect its visitors, and as there were no houses between it and Niagara Square, the view was uninterrupted (please bear this point in mind).

The day was fine and warm, and the rest of the party much interested in what they were to see. I only enjoyed being up so high, and feeling the wind and sun, and the

1. Also read before the Twentieth Century Club of Buffalo, March 11, 1908. This explains certain allusions in the text.

2. For a picture of this house see Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. XVI, p. 308.

sense of life and freedom. When the thing really went up, I thought it was a house blown away, which seems natural enough, after all. But my real enjoyment of the situation came afterward, and for several days I stole off, opened the roof door, and greatly appreciated being "up so high" with no one to watch me.

At last I was missed; my haunt discovered; a sound admonition followed, also the padlocking of the roof door. This was my first great deprivation. Years afterward I was again on the roof, but it wasn't interesting. There were houses, or something in the way.

From those same garret windows (I had the attic for a play-room) I could look far up Delaware avenue, nearly to Tupper street, and see the domed roof of Doctor Johnson's cottage, afterward the dwelling of the Buffalo Seminary, and which is still standing, as it was rebuilt after its fire. I stood at that garret window and saw it burn, and watched the domed metal roof fall in with a wonderful shower of colored fire and sparks. (And, excepting this one, for many years there were almost *no* houses on Delaware street below Allen.)

But long before this calamity happened, it was my greatest privilege to be allowed to walk up there with my sister Harriet (afterward Mrs. R. G. Snow), who was a great friend of Frances Lord, one of the Johnson and Lord family, and while the girls chatted, I was privileged to roam the beautiful garden, look into the fish pond, and long for a glimpse of the shy little deer, said to be enclosed in a forbidden thicket. I have never since seen anything more charming, and it has been a keen regret of my life that this delightful little park could not have been kept as one of the pretty breathing places of the city, especially as it was of some historic interest, having been the resi-

dence of the first mayor of the young city, Doctor Ebenezer Johnson.

“What fools these mortals be !”

Early Buffalo was, as all know, laid out on grand lines by Joseph Ellicott, assisted, it is said, by L'Enfant, the designer of the city of Washington, D. C. Buffalo men combined these spacious and splendid plans and the important location of the city at the junction of Lake Erie, Niagara River, and Buffalo Creek, lured speculators and promised them great fortunes from corner lots, and, indeed, all land investments. They came, they saw, they speculated on the possibilities, and merrily spent all that they expected to make, when, like a flash, came the collapse of 1837, and the financial ruin was assisted and completed by the forgeries of Benjamin Rathbun. It was a city of dreams and had a rude awakening. None escaped, some were crushed, all injured, all suffered.

But most of them were plain people, and after they got over the shock of finding that they were not millionaires after all, they went to work, saved the wreckage, and the town survived.

Then two more things happened, and of national as well as local importance. A great revival of religion swept over the country in the early forties (and earlier), like that of the days of Huss and Luther, of Latimer, and of the Wesleys. Men had felt the want of something more and better than money in the past few years, and knew themselves, actually as well as technically, sinners in need of divine help. Finney and Burchard preached, the people prayed, churches, halls, school houses were filled, and meetings held in private houses; converts were swept into churches of all denominations, as if by a rising flood. In time it passed, but the great revival will be remembered in the history of the churches by

their increased number and renewed spiritual life. And so, the way cleared for the great temperance movement under John B. Gough, in the forties, and once more the crowds gathered to hear the great apostle of temperance. I am not sure, but I think that it was nearly coeval with the great Father Mathew temperance crusade in Ireland.¹ It went like wildfire over the country. Even sweet cider was banished from a mince pie, and to offer a glass of wine was a crime. New Year's tables banished the decanters, and the spirits, if allowed at all, were kept on the medicine shelf.

These three important events transformed Buffalo from a city of speculators and bankrupts, a town of spendthrifts and high livers, of merry, thoughtless (but most agreeable) men and women, to a serious, respectable, and rather slow and staid community.

Immigration began to increase; work was plenty, even if wages were low, and the town grew slowly but steadily. The Erie Canal acted with the lake commerce, and in time railroads were built and connected all over the country. But never again (scarcely even now) was the town to feel the careless joyousness of its early days of speculation, when all went after the Golden Fleece, and were themselves so thoroughly fleeced. We were never an "unco guid" community, but we were the better, as a town, for those days of reformation, and never again went wild as before this date. And it is of this Buffalo that I have my earliest recollections.

In those early days, as now, there were fierce gales blowing sometimes down Lake Erie, and as the stone storm pier was not what it is at present, and there was no breakwater to check the force of the waves, they swept up over the flats and low-lying land below Exchange street and thereabouts.

1. Theobald Mathew, known as "Father Mathew," the Irish temperance reformer, began his temperance crusade in 1838. He made a tour in the United States, 1849-51. The temperance work of John B. Gough began in 1842.

I remember one of two or three such gales, but not its date.¹ The wind had blown two days and two nights, and the waters had come up over the "flats" to Michigan street, and nearly to Seneca. The poor little shanties, which studded that district, were blown down and swept away. Many people were drowned and many more were made homeless. With the third morning the gale subsided, and the rescue work went on. The drowned people were carried to the Court House (this was a very pretty colonial building), standing behind Lafayette Park, on the spot where now the Public Library stands. There was much excitement about town. The rescued but homeless ones were brought to the "market" (a fair-sized brick building standing on Mohawk street, corner of Pearl, site now occupied by the older building of the Y. M. C. A.) and were quartered in its basement. This edifice had also a strong room, called the "Watch House," for drunk and disorderly persons under arrest, and this being opposite the rear of our home, afforded many interesting points of observation. I was not allowed to see the drowned people (although some of my little mates were), but as a compensation I was permitted to carry one of the baskets of comforts to the rescued party. One woman, aged nearly one hundred, had been pulled out of the window of a floating house, and was wailing in a corner over what she had lost, and there were children of my own age, and people of all ages. I was very sorry for them, and it was long before I connected the disappearance of certain favorite garments—notably my little blue silk hood—with my mother's and sister's benevolence, to my own sincere regret. There were many great gales, but this was my first knowledge of the awful power of wind and water.

This building, the old Market, was fairly well built of

1. The reference is probably to the gale and flood of Oct. 18, 1844.

brick, and on its roof was a fire alarm bell, of the most appalling power of sound and of most dolorous expression. It was afterward transferred to a bell tower, but has since disappeared. When the first bang! bang! bang! bang! started, it felt to me as if each stroke drove an icicle of fear into my heart. I never got used to it. These were the days of volunteer firemen, and the reward of seven years of volunteer service was exemption from jury or military service. We had an engine house on Genesee street, just in its rear, and an engine and hose cart, and at the first sound the volunteers left house and home, bride and bairn, helmet on head, buckling the fire belt, and rushing for the engines. The householder tried to find out where the fire was, and looked to his own leather fire buckets, two of which were required to be kept in readiness by every householder. As all the firemen were volunteers, neighbors, friends, and men of our own families, we lived in fire companies, and we heard constantly of fires. But, after all, fires were not as numerous or as destructive as might have been expected in a small town, mostly of wood and with a limited water supply. Every one was careful of their own fires. My mother greatly feared fire, and I never went to bed without a charge about fire and light, and directions to keep ready my warm gown and shoes (not slippers), and where to go if we were burned out, and full instructions what to save, and to be sure to use the pillow cases to carry away valuables. It wasn't a bad idea either, to give us the little fire drill, especially as we never had a fire,

I should have mentioned that the Market building was afterward used as an arsenal and State armory; for many years the flag floated from it on legal holidays. I made a drawing of it, flag and all, of which I was very proud.

The location of my father's house, on the corner of Main

and Mohawk streets (now Hens & Kelly's department store, as I have said), was most advantageous as a post of observation for sightseeing. The popularity of the family was immense, on occasion of Fourth of July celebrations, firemen's parades, election parades, and torchlight processions, and, best of all, the "caravans," which was what we called the parades of menageries and circuses; often two or three elephants and camels and cages and horses and ponies and spangled riders. We sometimes went to see "this unrivalled collection of wild animals," and once I rode in a howdah on the elephant's back, which nearly frightened the life out of me as I stepped on his warm, soft head, and I fear unto death the sight of an elephant to this day.

The large lot now occupied by the Garden Theater, and formerly by the rink, corner Pearl and Niagara, was a favorite ground for circuses and animal shows. At one time I lived on Church street with Doctor and Mrs. R. G. Snow (my sister Harriet), and their house went back nearly to that lot. We could get glimpses of the performance at night, when lamps were lighted, and hear music, and often frightful animal noises. One hot night a sharp thunder and wind storm came on and the tent blew down, and some of the cages were upset with a great noise and confusion. When things were put to rights and the storm over, it was found that the elephant and camel were missing. It isn't easy to really lose an elephant. The two had philandered off together, and the elephant had pushed down a fence and they were peacefully eating cabbages together in a poor man's garden near where the City Hall now stands, and the circus men gave him a fifty-dollar bill, which cured his fright, fences, and cabbages all at once.

I really think that Buffalo has always had a real genius for processions and parades, even to the year just passed,

when I consider that of the McKinley day and Old Home week. The possession of that garden and fence, and five front windows and front door of our house was better than any reserved box in a theater. It was a liberal education to see those "passing shows."

Another privilege of the location was being near the "park," as we called the grassy plot, now Lafayette Square, where stands the Soldiers' Monument. It was only a fenced square, but with many fine trees, some of these of forest growth, and sometimes the grass was cut, not often. On one occasion it was used as the camping ground for "Company D, City Guards." The tents had been going up all day in neat, white rows, and in regular streets. My parents and sisters were invited to visit the "camp," and as the whole family went, they took the "child" along. It was a fine, warm, moonlight evening, I remember. The party was met at the gate by Lieutenant Thomas C. Welch, who, I think, must have been the officer of the day. Do you realize what an elegant being is a handsome young officer in full uniform? And to have the privilege of speaking to him, of really being under his charge, and be in no danger of his sharp sword, nor of the bright bayonet of the sentry! Ah! What bliss!

The little park had a history of its own. Under those trees the citizens were addressed by many and most distinguished men, and among them were John Quincy Adams, Martin Van Buren, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. Many were the times of reading the Declaration of Independence and of Fourth of July orations, and more important occasions than I can remember, and always the bursts of martial music, the strains of "Hail! Columbia!" and "The Star-Spangled Banner," and the pert little tattoo of "Yankee Doodle" with the drum and fife.

Niagara Square was a most important locality, surrounded by its border of fine dwellings, and nestling in verdure of fine old trees. And now look at it!!!

What a pity it is that they graded these squares and cut down the best trees! It will take a century to replace them. Pity that those who needlessly cut down a fine tree could not be shut up till another grows to the same size!

And speaking of trees, there was a time when the artistic and commercial value of trees was so highly appreciated that there was formed a society calling themselves "The Tree Planters," of which my brother-in-law, Mr. Manchester, was a prominent member. They pledged themselves to see that 1,000 trees were yearly planted in Buffalo, and as the society existed twenty years, those 20,000 trees made Buffalo the city of foliage that it is today; and down with the caterpillars which destroy them, and the builders who do not protect them!

There were then many groups of good houses but no exclusively fashionable streets. Swan, Seneca, South and North Division, and a few on Eagle and even Church, many on Washington and Mohawk. And it was about this time that Delaware avenue was laid out upon its present plan, and which has made it the most beautiful street I ever saw, in any part of the world. It was planned with ample drives, wide sidewalks, and four rows of fine trees with broad grassy spaces between them. My brother-in-law, Judge Albert Baker, being an alderman at that time, greatly assisted in the adoption of the plan for this splendid boulevard, and as the daughters of these two men—Mr. Manchester and Judge Baker—are present today,¹ I think that their children may be glad that the memories of their fathers are still kept green in this excellent fashion.

1. Twentieth Century Club, March 11, 1908.

It has been said often that Buffalo never was a real city; that there was nothing metropolitan about it; that it was only a big village. Well, it isn't a metropolis. We don't really need many metropolii, and a great village isn't the worst thing it can be. Buffalo began by having all its dwellings, both small and great, detached, and in gardens and lawns, and, as the fashion seemed good to us, we kept on. The few "blocks" were not popular. The Keeler Block on Swan, and Kissam on Mohawk, the Darrow on Washington; were expensive, inconvenient, and unlighted. A Buffalonian must have light and air. Gardens were a passion, and existed even on the business streets. When I was a very small child I was taken to see a lovely rose garden surrounding a fine residence, corner of Exchange and Main streets, opposite Mansion hotel. It was the home of Mons. Alphonse Le Couteulx. Soon after, the space being needed for business buildings, the garden was obliterated, and my father and I were made happy by a load of its rose bushes, which I loved and tended till our garden shared the same fate.

There were many gardens on Main street, extending from the one I have mentioned, far, far uptown. One fine one was on the corner of Main and Eagle, where Miller's offices are (or were a year ago). It was owned by Mr. Bela D. Coe, who removed to York street, then the city limit, now Porter avenue, southeast corner of Niagara street, where he lived many years, in that fine old stone mansion. The premises have long been the home of Mr. Porter Thompson. McArthur (prince of confectioners and incarnation of Santa Claus) purchased the Main and Eagle street property, and built a pavilion for entertainments in its pretty garden, which he surrounded with booths and colored lamps. Many interesting entertainments took place there, for we

had no large fine hall then. General Tom Thumb held his receptions there, and I saw him. He was a pleasant little fellow and no fool either, and if he was a dwarf, he was the most famous one in the world. The Horticultural Society held their monthly summer exhibitions there. The flowers were fine and some of the girls were pretty, and they were occasions of social value and attraction, and flowers were sold at auction, for the benefit of the Horticultural Society for improvement of gardens. Up town was our own, sweet, old-fashioned garden, where grew every lovely old-fashioned flower which could take care of itself with our unskilled attendance. Our fruit, too, deserved mention. The boys knew it, but they didn't mention it. I never saw such cherries except on a lady's hat, nor such plums: Green Gage, Reine Claude, red egg plums, and white magnum bonum plums, just resting on top of a common-sized tumbler. Somehow, I don't care much now for cherries or plums.

Just here I want to say a word for the birds in the old garden, for we did have singing birds before the sparrow invasion. My father, loving all living things, was always putting up boxes and little houses for wrens. For martins, a little house just under the eaves.

We had swallows—both barn and chimney swallows—and wrens, and song sparrows, and bluebirds, and bluejays, and the cedar bird with its pointed feather cap and tip of red wax on its wing, and orchard orioles, and red-wing blackbird (one year a Baltimore oriole), and yellow birds, and woodpeckers, and humming birds, and maybe others. Robins did not come to Buffalo till about the fifties. I used to wish I could see a robin, having heard of the English robin, and when I saw the big awkward, greedy thrush, with an orange breast and unmelodious chirp I was much disap-

pointed, and have always been. He is an imposter, and only a homesick Englishman could let him masquerade as the pretty robin redbreast, which really is a finch. Sometimes owls visited us and hawks, too, but all fled before the ugly and ubiquitous sparrow.

There was another pretty garden, belonging to really our nearest neighbors, Judge Thomas C. Love; site now occupied by new Y. M. C. A. building. This was the early home of Mrs. Walter Cary and her sisters and brother. It was taken down many, many years ago, and the cellar left vacant. My father one day met Judge Love and asked him why he waited so long before building. "The real reason is, Miller, that my plans are really incompatible with their execution. I want large rooms and plenty of them, and I am determined not to have a large house under any circumstances." And so the house was not built, but children skated on the ice in the vacant cellar for years, till the lot was sold. John S. Noyes built a residence there which he sold afterward to Philip Becker, the mayor at that time, and it is now occupied by the new Y. M. C. A.

The little triangle opposite is now improved and planted and grassed, and Doctor Irving Snow did it, a year or two ago—and you'd wonder at the amount of red tape which hindered it, although he paid all expenses out of his own pocket.

Also, there were orchards up Main street. One on the corner of Allen and Main (and covering the very ground where we stand today—Twentieth Century Club), good apples, too. Some of the trees are hidden away in the gardens and yards now. It was owned by Mr. William Smith. I think that some of his sons or heirs still own portions of this land. Just above Mr. Smith's garden and orchard was the regimental barracks and drill ground, and

Col. Bankhead occupied the house (then fronting toward Main street), now the home of Mr. Ansley Wilcox, where President Roosevelt took the oath of office on the death of President McKinley. It was a great treat to walk up Main street holding my father's hand and see the drills, and it is said that the officers were socially very popular. The Wilcox house is all now remaining of that military occupation.

There was a good orchard, too, on the corner of Broadway (then Batavia street) and Washington, where the Buffalo Savings Bank and Grosvenor Library used to stand, opposite Public Library. Good apples, and great fun running and sliding down hill. It was first owned and occupied by M. Lester Brace, once our sheriff. Misses Hills' school was afterward in this house.¹ The grounds above North street, then the city limit on the north, was occupied largely by nurseries of fruit trees and shrubs, by Mr. William Hodge and Mr. John Bryant and his three sons. No, not any other Bryant. There are four distinct and unrelated families of the name in Buffalo. The Bryant nurseries reached nearly to Cold Spring, a long walk for me in those days. And there were many lovely gardens all over town. Mr. and Mrs. Ebenezer Day had a fine one on Main street where Hoddick's art store stands. Every sweet and scented thing grew there, and many were the fragrant loads given me by the generous owners. I think Mr. David F. Day learned his love of botany from his mother's garden. There was a fine one on Niagara street, too, around the Root mansion, a colonial house of some pretension, and it is said that one of the first May parties for which Buffalo was

1. The house referred to was built about 1818 by Jonas Harrison, Collector of Customs for the District of Niagara, 1813 to about 1819. It was owned and occupied by Sheldon Thompson, 1830-1851. After that date the Misses Hills occupied it for their school until 1865, when it was torn down. See Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. XVI, pp. 364-5.

afterward famous, was held there on its portico, draped and furnished as a throne, and Miss Harriet Day was queen. But that was long before my time; I am talking of gardens just now.

In the very earliest days of Buffalo, as soon as possible after the beginning of its rebuilding, after the invasion of British and Indians, stood on the corner of Mohawk and Delaware a plain wood house in a lovely garden, where things really grew and blossomed. The family were among those who fled from the burning village with one, the oldest child. They came back, rebuilt a home, and many children were born to them. The best-known son was Cyrenius Bristol, chemist and druggist, maker of the famous extract of sarsaparilla, well known to our childhood. The young men and girls of this family were life-long friends of my family. I saw the sole surviving daughter and member last week. She is ninety-one years old; the smallest lady living, much less than five feet in height, and still, now as always and ever, the very embodiment of sweetness, neatness, and love, "and of such is the kingdom of heaven."

Miss Elizabeth Bristol must be, I think, the oldest native-born woman of the city of Buffalo, and of a continuous residence. Continuous! I should think so! I often take her to drive, and it occurred to me, one day last September, before taking her to the Park, to ask her where she would like to go. "If I could go down the whole of Main street; I haven't been down in twenty-five years!"

It chanced to be the day (and a fine one) when decorations were out for the coming Old Home week, and I never saw any one enjoy anything more, for our dear little friend is no recluse. Her little parlor (now 175 Fargo avenue) is almost daily visited by old friends, and they are some of the best people of Buffalo, too. (I could tell some delightful

Cranford-y stories, but I won't. I've sworn not to be personal this morning.) But her window was full of most flourishing house plants, and it seemed that they grew as they could grow for no one else.

Speaking of May parties, before I go any further I must speak of this peculiar institution of an earlier Buffalo. It began long before I was born, and the first one I saw was from the altitude of my father's shoulder. I do not clearly remember it, but it was in a garden, and a throne of evergreens on the grass, and little girls in white and crowns of flowers on their heads, and was said to be in the grounds of Judge Bennett on Eagle street, now Bennett Park, I think.

But one that I do remember was given by Miss Porter's school. I am going to talk of schools by and by. This is about the May party. The girls of Miss Porter's school elected, as their Queen of May, Miss Mary Wells, daughter of Henry Wells, of Wells-Fargo Express Company, the man who built and endowed Wells College at Aurora, Cayuga county, N. Y., where were sent some Buffalo girls, notably Frances Folsom, afterward Mrs. Cleveland.

This May party was held in Johnson's Park, of which I have spoken before. The throne was reared on the grass and built of evergreens, under the fine old trees, some of them still standing. The queen mother, who crowned the queen, was Miss Cornelia Daly. The scepter was presented by "Flora," the cake by the grand chamberlain, I think Mr. Rumsey, and a great number of flower girls and attendants, and a procession including all the school girls and a few of their friends by invitation and as guests, in white and wreaths, of course, all reciting more or less poetry, or singing in chorus.

I was not a member of Miss Porter's school at this time, but was a guest by invitation. Never have I seen anything

lovelier or sweeter than Queen Mary and her court. The day was fine and warm and an exceptionally pleasant one; our May weather is and was so uncertain that when it became common to hold these parties in June they went into disuse. For they could not be the real thing, after all, in June, could they? Although the practice struggled on spasmodically for years and was kept up in the public schools much longer than in other ways.

Afterward, when I was a pupil of Miss Porter's school, a friendship grew up between Miss Mary Wells, the lovely May Queen, and her devoted servant and lover, who speaks to you today, which lasted most of our lives. The Wells family went to Aurora, Cayuga county, to live, where Mary soon married, and lived long and died, as she had lived, a most sweet lady.

Speaking of schools (now I have got my work cut out!), Buffalo has had her own troubles with schools in the past. I hope they are over. The public schools in early days were small and poor in teaching and attendance. There were a good many small schools of from a dozen to twenty or thirty pupils, taught by ladies more or less well calculated for their work. Some pretty good, some rather funny. Boys and girls went together, a sort of infant school (not kindergarten, by any means), for the children were not encouraged to play much, and they really learned some things. I don't remember the names of many of these teachers. One was Miss Dana, near St. Joseph's Cathedral, Miss Cotton, Mrs. Dean, and Miss Brush, and I forget the rest, all but the one where I went. It was so different from any one else I must tell you of it presently.

At this period of Buffalo's history a strong Franco-American flavor prevailed; and at dates corresponding to the many European revolutions and attempts at such, came

multitudes of accomplished exiles, French, Polish, Russian, and a few Germans. Some succeeded in bringing money to invest, as in the case of Mons. Louis Etienne Le Couteulx de Caumont and his two sons, William and Alphonse, and their wives. Others escaped only with life and accomplishments, others with life, capable hands, and no accomplishments. As there was a taste for languages in some of my family, we came to know some of them. Leopold and Eugene Dovillier taught French and drawing, and, I think, music as well, and superbly, too. A fascinating Pole, one Wingerski, taught dancing. Zuboff, a Russian, music; and there were others. There was Victor Tiphaine, wines, etc., etc., and the Damainvilles, Miss Marie Damainville, musician, and our well-beloved teacher, Mons. Malhoubie,—whom you must remember. Some went into business—wines, millinery, or music. Some married and settled here. Some went home when it was safe to do so, and we knew them no more. It was always easy to get a fine teacher of any and all accomplishments. What we really needed was a good, sensible, English school, with a good, sensible American teacher, and not so much nonsense about it.

For a few years there was a school for young ladies taught by Mr. and Mrs. T. W. Williams, in the old Daly house on Pearl street, a fine residence in the rear of Sweeney's department store. The school was a rather pretentious, dressy affair, and made much of its French teaching, I remember hearing said. But it died, I don't know how, and a new school was opened in its rooms, taught by Miss Sarah Porter, sister of Noah Porter, LL. D., and president of Yale College. It was largely under the patronage of the First Presbyterian Church, although not at all sectarian. Later it was moved to Eagle street, in a house

afterward Bloomer's restaurant, and still later occupied by Gething & Co., tailors. Miss Porter was assisted by her sister, Miss Elizabeth Porter, and by Miss Mary Norton, afterward Mrs. Mary Thompson, and well known to most of us; also her sister, Miss Elizabeth Norton. This was the staff. There were two departments and four teachers, and forty or more young girls from ten to eighteen. Miss Porter was a very good teacher and had the best possible influence on her girls in every way. Miss Norton taught mathematics, and being younger than some of her pupils, whom she had known all her life, I am afraid she had a hard time. In later years I knew her well, and loved her much all the rest of her life. Miss Porter taught about four years in all, maybe more. When she had the offer of the Farmington school, she promptly accepted it, and left us in the middle of the school year, which was a pity. I have said this much, for the fame of the Farmington school so far overshadowed the Buffalo school that I have been solemnly assured that she never taught here. But she did, and some of us are alive to tell of it, and, perhaps, are present on this occasion.

There were, of course, other private schools. The Misses Langdon, the Misses Hills, and later the Buffalo Seminary, of which we all know, and also boys' schools—Mr. Briggs, the Heathcote, etc., later on.

But at the time of Miss Porter's departure, there were no very good private schools, and there was a high tide in favor of public schools and free education—Horace Mann, and all that sort of thing.

Mr. Fillmore was identified with that movement. A step was taken in the direction of higher education, co-education, and all that, and a third department of the public schools was inaugurated on the third floor of Public School

No. 7, on South Division street near Ellicott. It was a step toward the high school. Mr. Hadley and Miss Radley were the teachers. Everybody sent his children there, all sorts and almost all ages, until nearly two hundred were enrolled. The two teachers did their best, but they had their hands full. Some of us did learn, but very soon my wise parents decided that headaches and rapid growth made such a crowded school undesirable, and I was taken out. Not unprofitably, either, for I learned to keep house, to cook, to sew, and to read aloud, and in the situation (for life) which I ultimately accepted, these accomplishments were all required. Speaking of public schools, I am going to tell a real story about them. Among our good neighbors, from my earliest knowledge, were Hon. Millard Fillmore and family. My parents knew them, my elder sisters were well acquainted with them, and also their younger brothers and sisters. They had a daughter of my own age, and a son some years older. I knew Abbie Fillmore and loved her better than any girl I ever knew. And so, it chanced when we were little girls, that we talked about what we would do when we were grown up. Mr. Fillmore had been a Member of Congress for several terms and was called a rising man, and as I have said, he was interested in public schools, and, no doubt, there had been talk about it in the family before Abbie, and this is what she said:

"When I am grown up I am going to be a teacher. I'd rather do it than anything else."

"But, when you're grown up, they won't let you."

"Why not?"

"Because my father says that your father is going to be President some day. The President's daughter mustn't teach school."

"Oh pshaw! He won't be President, and I will teach."

"Well, if you teach school, I am coming to school to you, even if I am ever so old, or even married."

"And if my father is President, I'll invite you to visit me at the White House."

There was, indeed, but little prospect of either event, but we solemnly promised, as children do.

And the odd part of it, both promises were kept, and this was the way of it. She was sent away to Mr. and Mrs. Sedgwick's school at Lenox, Mass, for several years, and while Mr. Fillmore was State (New York State) comptroller she entered and graduated from the State Normal School at Albany. Afterward, complying with the requirement of at least one term of teaching from a State normal graduate, a place was made for her in the third department, Public School No. 10, it being the second and the newest and best of the third departments, and at once I entered the school, for she insisted on my doing so, as she had done her part.

She taught but one term, but I kept on to the end of the year and ended up with typhoid fever. I never went back to school. Meanwhile, Mr. Fillmore was elected Vice-president, and the President, General Taylor, died, and Mr. Fillmore became President, and in the last year of his presidency my invitation came, and I made my visit at the White House. Thus it came about that each of us lived in her own *château d'Espagne*.

She was far too young for a teacher in French and rhetoric, which she did teach to boys and girls older than herself. A very good French class, too. So this obstinate little girl obtained and kept the place, and it has never been vacant since, and hers was the first class in a foreign language taught in a public school in Buffalo. The vacancy caused by Miss Fillmore's resignation was filled by my sister,

Harriet Miller, until her marriage to Doctor R. G. Snow, in 1854.

That school, third department, Public School No. 10, was a very peculiar school, and the principal, Ephraim Cook, was a very peculiar man. He did teach well, however, and in his own way, lecturing much, questioning little, with little method, no discipline, and no restraint. He was especially good at chemistry and book-keeping. We did learn some things, and had as good a time as we wanted, much like a country academy. I made some life-long friendships and, on the whole, we got into much less mischief than might have been expected, showing that American boys and girls can be trusted. In the spring, the big boys all went to work, mostly as book-keepers and clerks on the docks, and in the Great Lakes trade, the important industry of that time, and all earned a living before they were twenty, and if one of them went to college, I never knew it. Most of the girls married young and happily and "settled down" into excellent wives and mothers. You knew some of us, for a few of us are still living.

I have often wondered if there was ever as queer a little school as the one I was first sent to. It was under the care of Mrs. Nancy L. Brodhead, a prim, sweet, ladylike New England woman. It was kept in an old-fashioned, plain little wooden house on Washington street, near Huron. She had the best heart and the best intentions in the world. We learned a little and learned no harm. Boys and girls together, of course. Some were learning the alphabet, and to read, and you could have a book and study anything you could hear of. Some very good families were represented. Four or five little Sidways (Mr. Franklin Sidway, Senior, was one), four or five Clintons, and others. Those who could read, read every day, spelled twice a day, and did

sums, or recited the multiplication table in concert, and had American history and geography. The little chaps, learning the alphabet, were often overcome by this tax on their intellects, and they took naps on the benches and sometimes rolled off on the floor.

We had a writing lesson every day, and I ought to write a better hand, for she wrote beautifully. Once a week we had little compositions and once a week needlework and drawing or water-color painting, and every day we had American history and English grammar. From 9 to 12, from 2 to 4, no recess, no vacations, except a week in spring for housecleaning. One grind, the year round. The little house had school in the parlor, and had a sitting room with a dark bedroom in the rear of it, where once (when seized with a dreadful headache) I was put to bed, and kept till it was over. A kitchen (where nothing was ever doing or out of place, all being done before breakfast) and a garret bedroom. Mr. Brodhead sat still in the little back room, never going out, never working, always reading and teaching his big boy, who never went to school or played with us, and here and thus did this sweet, bright woman live and work for forty years. Her husband died, her son became an excellent teacher of languages in the high school, and with classes in English (for Germans), German, French, Greek and Latin. I do not think she ever went into a neighbor's house or any house, but once to my mother's to tea; sometimes to church; with no friends, no associates, no amusements, for all of which there was no need, for *I* would not be put off, and she might have had many and better friends than I. It was only New England independence and reserve, for she was sweet to the very last. Finally, the land under the old house being required for rebuilding, they moved. She fell ill, and greatly desired my son, who was

beginning to practice medicine, to attend her, which he faithfully did. She died in my arms, aged much past eighty. And her son lived alone and died alone in the house some years later. Now, wasn't this a pitiful waste of splendid material? For if ever there was a city full of the true Christ spirit of neighborliness, it was Buffalo, then, later, and always.

This was in part a necessity. We must be neighborly to live at all. For in those days there were no nurses, except for confinement cases, no trained nurses at all, no hospitals; possibly a pest-house, for the rare cases of small-pox, and if a neighbor were ill, the neighbors assisted the family in caring for the sick. The doctors knew much then of nursing, and instructed one in caring for the sick, and cooking for them, and gave directions for the care of the sick, and very frequently the sick recovered. The neighbors cared for the dead, and the undertaker did only his unavoidable work. And with those who sorrowed and suffered, the neighbor was always present. My mother and sisters and I have done for our neighbors, all and everything that could be done, by one person for another. We shared in simple ways whatever we had with the needy (even with our friends, and with the "ninety and nine which went not astray"). Nowadays, these are often neglected for the case of the interesting and sinful hundredth man. Now it is not so in all cities, towns, and villages. To be sure our population was largely homogeneous. There were but few Germans or Irish or foreigners of any kind in the earliest days of Buffalo.

My mother was one of the quietest, most unassuming women I ever knew, but she was always sent for in case of sudden illness or accident, when intelligence, fortitude, and good sense, with self-possession were needed to help in

emergencies. Being a solitary child, so much the youngest as to lack companionship in my own family, I was much with my mother, and often assisted at her clinics. Sometimes I helped carry a basket, sometimes I just crept along, quietly, satisfied not to be sent back, if discovered, and being discreet, I was ignored and trusted. In this way I was present at two cases of fits, two run-overs, one apoplexy, and one of a bean in the windpipe; most of them before I had ever even gone to school. In that last case, when I found that the knife was required, I fled. I think sometimes with great admiration of my quiet little mother, holding in her kind, strong arms, the screaming, choking, struggling child (whose mother wasn't of the slightest use) while the swollen bean was taken from the windpipe, and the child restored to life and strength. And she lived, and to be rather an old lady, too.

And there were no anaesthetics in those times either, no antiseptics, nor much of anything but fortitude, and more or less experience. I don't remember that my mother talked much of it, not very much about anything, for that matter. She only "did her duty as a neighbor." Some of my sisters were like her in these ways, doing neighborly work, not yet forgotten. All was given and taken in the spirit of Christian love. And further, we shared blessings and pleasures, as well as help and comfort. More than once I have known neighbors to buy, fit up, and present the deeds of a house and home to certain aged friends and their children, who might otherwise have come to want, perhaps the dreaded and dreadful Poor House, which would have been our great shame.

This unassuming care for poor and needy friends has always been characteristic of Buffalo, and of such is the kingdom of heaven.

I have thought that the command to love one's neighbor as one's self and also to love one's enemies and do good to those who despitefully use you is much simplified by being a thoroughly good neighbor. For such will not be likely to have enemies, and if any one despitefully uses one, the other neighbors will rise as an army with banners, and defend these good neighbors. I've seen it.

Another quality I have noticed—a rare and sweet trait in communities. I wonder if any of you have noticed it, for not every town is this way.

We have had our trials and our tragedies, and those great, great sorrows that come to all towns, and to many persons. And we had also the gift of golden silence, where speech might wound; of forgetfulness, when memory might injure; of faithful, loyal love and good will, and discretion, and faith, which suffers long and is kind. I have seen much of this, too. I hope our dear city may never lose these sweet characteristics with its increasing size and wealth.

In time, as the city grew in size and numbers, the need and the opportunity of organized charity became evident. We had had an orphan asylum for many years. We began a hospital, and in the days of the Civil War it was enlarged and improved. We undertook to train nurses for all sorts of illness. We organized in the later sixties the Home for the Friendless, which, starting without debt, and never, never having had a debt or a quarrel among its managers, became the mother of the Ladies' Hospital Association, the Ingleside Home, the Women's Christian Association, and the Women's Union, and other work arising from its suggestions and needs of the city. I don't want to get started about the Home for the Friendless, for I have been on its board from its first year, and when I get going about it, I

am much more eloquent than interesting. Besides, I have told it all before. And as all the charities were managed by women of all denominations, sectarian feeling is almost dead among us.

Schools were not our only means of education. We had always excellent newspapers; the *Commercial Advertiser* founded in the thirties by Hezekiah Salisbury and Bradford Manchester, was and is the best daily I know of, in its unvarying quality day after day, year after year, for many decades. "Age can not wither nor custom stale" its valuable and interesting qualities. We have other good papers, but the *Commercial* was our first love—well, that makes a difference, you know.

Although we lacked much, we had great privileges. We had no art gallery, and we might never have had one, had it not been for the faithful and unwearying work of our dear old friend Mr. Sellstedt; but we had the Young Men's Association, once the Buffalo Library Association, and after fifty or more years the old name has come back to it. But the Young Men's Association was a library, a lyceum, an art gallery (two or three pictures in the library rooms) and the Society of Natural Sciences, consisting of some choice corals and a few minerals on a shelf. At first it was lodged in rooms on South Division street (Ellicott Square now), and was in charge of Phineas Sargent, librarian, a man born for the occasion. I used often to go to the library with the seniors of the family, and be lifted up on the table while selections of books were made and to hear kindly words from the odd little librarian. And it must not be forgotten that in the forties and fifties *Harper's* and the *Atlantic* magazines were started, that Thackeray, Dickens, Bulwer, Reade, Holmes, Read, Hawthorne, Carlyle, Emerson, and Tennyson, Browning, Whittier, and Longfellow, and all the

shining host were writing, and that we were a city of readers, of talkers, of friends and visitors, men, women, and children of us. We had our large and convenient St. James' Hall, and our splendid union station was many years newer in those days.

Another educational privilege was Steele's book store; where was there ever such another? There the faithful among men gathered to read, to talk and discuss ideas and plans and projects, and at rare intervals to buy a book. Best of all (besides the library) was the lecture course of the Young Men's Association. In its yearly election, the best and most prominent citizens contended, and the office of president was only second to president of the United States of America. The governor of the State wasn't near it. The course of lectures, one every week, lasted from November to April, sometimes. Now and then one of our own men gave something of their own, and there were extra courses, of course. One of anatomy and physiology by Doctor Flint (the elder), one of chemistry by Prof. Hadley of Rochester, whose son was professor of chemistry at the Medical College, of Buffalo. Prof. Agassiz gave one or two courses; the literary course included Henry Ward Beecher, Emerson, Holmes, Bayard Taylor, Park Benjamin, Whipple, Starr King, George William Curtis, and others. We also had, later on, readings from Dickens and Thackeray, Fanny Kemble, and Charlotte Cushman.

They were attended by crowds—such crowds! and in rooms, the théâtre, and even the churches at times. They began at 7.30 and were over at 9, and there was time afterward for a home visit to talk it over, or an adjournment to French Paul's, or to McArthur's, or Van Kleeck's, for coffee, oysters, or ice cream, and as early in the evening as that, no chaperones were needed (or wanted). There were no

fashion notes in next morning's paper, to tell of our little parties, and even if the neighbors did know of it, what of it? The combination of a fine lecture and Paul's coffee and cakes was as delightful as a theater party and the Iroquois now, and happened much oftener. We did have a theater on Eagle street, a fine one, too, for hearing; small, but sufficient, and good in every part. In these days appeared Forrest, McCready, the elder Booth, Charlotte Cushman, Hackett, and others. I used to hear the seniors speak of them. And about the time that I might have known more of it and them, Lola Montez dropped her unfortunate cigarette into a pile of rubbish and the Eagle street theater went up in flames. So, after all, we really depended most on the Young Men's Association. Sometimes we had the great privilege of meeting the distinguished lecturer, to be introduced, and even shake his illustrious hand. Of one of these great occasions I will tell a little story:

Doctor Bryant Burwell (father of Doctor George Burwell and grandfather of Doctor Glenny) was our family physician, and lived on the corner of Franklin and Mohawk in a fine house (still standing).¹ Doctor and Mrs. Burwell were very kind and hospitable to the young folks in the neighborhood. The Fillmore, Hall, Haven, Scott, Stuart, and Mayhew families, and many others, were our Franklin street neighbors at that time, and as Doctor Burwell was to entertain as his guest Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was to lecture before the Y. M. A., the people of these families were invited to meet him at "tea"—(not tea and wafers, but a good tea, with oysters and tea biscuit, sliced cold tongue, and coffee and preserves, and cake), and afterward the party, with sundry additions of our special attendants, adjourned to the lecture hall. This one was in the

1. Taken down, January, 1913.

rear of the American Hotel (now Adam, Meldrum & Anderson Co. department store), and was reached from Main street by a long, narrow passage. We all sat together in one group directly in front of the lecturer, and the subject was, "Lectures and Lecturers."

"Lecture audiences," said Doctor Holmes, "invariably contain four persons—the sympathizing listener, the resisting listener, the man who goes to sleep, and the man who goes out."

Precisely at this moment a man came hurriedly in and whispered anxiously into Doctor Burwell's ear, who nodded rapidly, and instantly, as if it were the prompter's cue, *went out*. Most of the audience knew that Doctor Burwell was Doctor Holmes' entertainer, and all recognized the aptness of the illustration, and loud and long applause and laughter followed, in which Doctor Holmes heartily joined. We had just quieted down when the full force of the joke struck Hon. Mr. Albert H. Tracy, who burst into one of his big, rare laughs. Then all went off again, and it was long before quiet was restored. We laughed very easily in those days.

After the lecture was over, Mr. Fillmore, who was present, invited the party, including Doctor Holmes, to adjourn to his house, adding, I remember, Mr and Mrs. E. C. Sprague, and other friends from the audience. After a pleasant little visit, as we were about to depart, Doctor Burwell returned, looking tired enough.

"I owe you an apology, Doctor. It was a case of necessity; you know how it is yourself. I am sure I must have missed something very brilliant, for I heard the applause after I got into the street." Then, of course, we all laughed again, and explained, and—

"My dear," said Mrs. Burwell, "we were laughing at you. *You were the man who went out.*"

It was from the windows of Doctor Burwell's house that a group of us young people watched a procession headed by Mr. Fillmore, in a carriage with Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, as he made welcome the illustrious exile after the struggle for liberty with Austrian tyranny.

Those were dark days for the Hungarians. But most was obtained later for which they had struggled, in fact, if not in name. And very proud we were of our illustrious fellow-citizen and his guest, as we waved handkerchiefs, and received their courteous salutes.

Speaking of social life, we had from my very earliest recollections the charming custom of New Year's calls. I don't know when it began, but it came from our Dutch friends in New York. Christmas got but scant notice, except with very little children, and their stockings, but New Year's day was for all. It was a jolly custom and died hard. In my infancy and early childhood it was at its best. We lived in this house (and not at its best, either, but the only picture I have, which I show you),¹ in which all five of us sisters were married. I was much the youngest of five sisters, four being grown up and two about to be married. My sisters' fiances, and their friends came in crowds. Everybody knew everyone; and all the society was good society. The town was full of young men who were full of energy and hope, and my father's parlor was full from morning till night on this happy New Year. There was a great log fire burning in the large fireplace with its bright brasses. The windows were hung with heavy red curtains from great poles and rings, and the red carpet completely covered the floor. The fire had burned all night to insure a warm room and the table had been prepared the evening before. It was covered with the best linen, and the

1. The picture exhibited by Mrs. Snow when she read this paper is reproduced on page 308, vol. XVI of these Publications.

best china and glass were displayed. A cold roast turkey, piles of small buttered "light biscuit," and, I think, a boiled ham, big frosted cakes and bowls of doughnuts, and a pitcher of cider, and unlimited coffee from the rosebud china cups. Then there were nuts, raisins, and "mottoes," small candy drops of all hues wrapped in colored, fringed tissue paper, and enclosing also a couplet of most sentimental poetry. There were also for elders, decanters of Madeira, and many glasses. I remember well many of the guests, having my own favorites among those who "noticed the little sister." I think none are living now of those guests. There were many over a hundred visitors, and next day the other girls came over to interview my sisters or brag of *their* successes.

Of course, after the great temperance movement, and after the marriages and departure of my elder sisters, it did not seem so brilliant to us. But it survived to very recent years, and died hard. New Year's receptions now are very different in all ways, being large affairs, and perhaps in clubs, associations, or very large residences, etc. I do not expect calls any more, but maybe some one of the faithful *may* stray in, and I always put a loaf of frosted cake, and plates on the table, in the library corner, or at least a dish of bonbons, and the *ghosts* come back, in high stocks and tight overcoats, and the sleighbells jingle outside. "Happy New Year!" they call out. "Cold but seasonable. No, thank you! two hundred calls on my list—not sitting down anywhere!"

"The compliments of the season, Madam!" from the older men.

"Jolly custom, this; hope it will never go out. See our friends once a year at least!"

"Yes, certainly; I remember your coffee from year to year. Won't you eat a philopena with me? (This is a

double almond, and at next meeting the first one to cry out "philopena!" is entitled to a gift from the other, not to be declined under any circumstances.)

"What a lot of snow we've brought in! Never mind, New Year's comes only once a year! Happy New Year!"

The bells give a thrilling jingle—the ghosts are gone; and there is a *gas* fire in the grate with *artificial* coal, and the cake isn't even cut!—and—I wish there was a resurrection!

We had a pleasant custom, now extinct, in the sixties, "The Old Settlers' Festival." It was organized to raise money for the sick and wounded soldiers in the Civil War, and the Sanitary and Christian Commission, by Mrs. John C. Lord, Miss Lucy Lord, Mrs. Phelps, and many other prominent and influential women and men who had lived here a long time, or their parents had, and who had loved Buffalo.

The festival lasted four days and the organization held together about ten years.

There was a grand tea party in St. James' Hall, Eagle street, site of the Iroquois Hotel, seating hundreds of guests in old-fashioned dresses, caps and kerchiefs, canes and crutches, high stocks, and even ruffled shirts, and we younger women served tables with immense success and jollity. There was a "Singing School," "Choir Practice," "Spelling Down," a husking bee, quilting bee, and a New England kitchen, presided over by Mrs. Lord and Miss Lucy, who enacted an improvised play of simple country life in the character of a farmer's wife and her help, and wonderfully well done, too.

Once there was an evening of tableaux. One representing the burning of Buffalo, and the flying people, the refugees. It was too realistic, and was not repeated. It

lacked perspective. It was too near home, for some of the refugees or their families were present. And then a ball. Such a ball! Every old-fashioned or antique costume came out. The fiddlers played reels and jigs and "money musk," and "Fisher's hornpipe," and the dancing was *dancing*. How pretty some of the girls were in mother's or grandmother's dresses, high combs, and puffs, and rolled hair!

That, too, died. Those who did most, died or grew indifferent. So accounts were settled. Properties were stored away in Doctor Lord's attic, and the remaining funds distributed among the needy and respectable old citizens, "the ninety and nine which went not astray."

Prominent in this festival were the descendants of Mrs. Margaret St. John, widow of Gamaliel St. John, the heroine of the burning of Buffalo. She was the owner of the only house spared by the British, and owed it to her courage and policy in cooking an excellent dinner for the British officer. (I forget his name—we do not forget hers.)

This house stood next to my father's homestead lot, now occupied, as I have said, by Hens & Kelly's department store, and the site of her house is covered by Hanan's shoe store.¹ It has been said that it was where H. A. Meldrum's store now stands. That also, I think, was her property, but it was a small tavern and was burned. The cellar was vacant and grass-grown for years and years, and I have played in it, and dug caves in it, and I knew all about it.

Before I was born, the St. John family removed from that house; the numerous daughters were all married. But Mrs. St. John sometimes visited my mother, and I remember her stern, strong face, exactly like her portrait in the Historical Society. Her daughters were Mrs. Thomas Foote,

1. No. 476 Main street. The Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, to mark the site of the St. John house, placed a tablet at No. 460 Main street. Its removal to 476, or thereabouts, would bring it closer to the site of the house.

Mrs. Parnell Sidway, Mrs. Fiske, Mrs. Bemis, Mrs. Skinner, and I think one married Judge Wilkeson—(his first wife)—and two sons, Doctor John St. John, and Orson St. John. You know some of these descendants, especially Frank Sidway's family, who have always resided here; also Doctor Barnard Bartow, grandson of Mrs. Bemis.

You are tired of all this twaddle, or I'd tell you of my first party in the Sidway house on Hudson and Tenth streets, the old Barker house¹ (quite a grand one), and how I wore a new white frock and blue ribbons, and it being a distance, and the guests small, the carriage was sent for us. After I was grown up, I went to other parties in that house, but, of course, they could not compare with this one. For we did have parties and visits and friends—most delightful ones, too, then—although by no means every day and all the time.

Sometimes some of the dear young people ask me this question: "Didn't you have better times than we do, more fun?" "Mother says *she* did."

Well, your mothers and I were *young*, and youth is the great factor in a good time, and youth is a good time, of itself.

It was very different. We had no clubs, no art gallery, and societies, *no park*, few drives, no daylight festivities, no gas, no bath-rooms, no great water supply, only candles and lamps, occasional balls and sleigh rides. All very occasional, once a week or once a fortnight in winter; few picnics;—no trolleys, no street cars, nor omnibuses, few and very expensive hacks, and very few private carriages. We had much to do and we did it. No telegraphs, no telephones, no ocean cables, no magazines but *Knickerbocker* and *Graham's* and *Godey's Ladies' Book*, although the day was dawning

1. See vol. XVI of these Publications, pp. 441-454.

for magazines and the best of them, too. Housework, housekeeping, care of sick, old folks and young children (of the kitchen girls, very many were raw from emigrant ships), dressmaking at home with or without help, gardening, care of silver (a little of it), but much brass, and we were busy most of the day. But when all was done, and the tea was over, and the sweet summer twilight or cozy, comfortable winter evening came on, we each put on a pretty dress, and brushed and braided or curled our hair and received our evening visitors, sometimes many, sometimes few, or, best of all, only *one*. We made it a point not to be tired, *not* to own that we were ever really busy, only that we had a few pleasant little things to do (which was true, if one only thought so). In the evening we assumed an attitude of absolute leisure. Perhaps we overdid it, but it avoided pressure and fidgets, and made for serenity and repose, the attitude of the period. And we certainly did have many friends and good times. And after all, it worked pretty well. Women may be judged as generals are, by results and successes, and judging by the women I see before me, their mothers brought them up pretty well after all, or maybe it was their grandmothers.

But what privileges *you* have! To begin with, the charming clubs, the beautiful parks (the garden went out with the invention of the lawn mower; and much prettier are the velvet lawns than our straggling hardly kept gardens!) Your beautiful homes, your delightful luncheons and beautiful, delightful teas in broad daylight, not to mention dinners, and better trained service, more variety and better dishes, and, except in rare cases, better average cooking, fruits and vegetables from all the world, all the year 'round, good schools and well-educated daughters and sons, music of the best and as often as you like. (We only had

a concert or two in a year. To be sure, we had Jenny Lind, Patti, Strakosch, and Ole Bull.) Pictures and exhibitions all the time, and, as I said before, we might *never* have had them, had it not been for our beloved friend Mr. Sellstedt and his untiring and almost life-long work.

Most of your houses are better planned, and home and travel alike attractive and ready for you, happier and easier for everyone.

This is all better, if you let it be so. The simple life does not altogether consist in self deprivation, in inconvenience, in heroic "doing without." It is in the mental attitude of content, of industry, of self-respect, refinement, honest, straightforward dealing with others, of loving attention to important trifles, in care and consideration for one's own family and close friends, and even strangers. In short, by whatever name it be called, it amounts to the same thing. Call it the Simple Life, the New Thought, this or that, or the New Church, etc.; it can be called anything, but for all soul growth, all pure and worthy life, there has never been any improvement upon the theory and practice of the Sermon on the Mount.

In one respect I see gain. It is in the love, kindness, and attention paid to us, the seniors. Our mothers did not have half so good times as we do—as we have today, and especially is your consideration shown in your interest and patience in listening so long to my old stories.

NOTE.—The allusion on page 156 to the burning of the Eagle-street theater should perhaps have a word of comment. The story that Lola Montez, Countess of Landsfeld, caused the fire with her cigarette, has long had vogue, but so far as the present compiler is aware, it lacks proof. She had been playing there, was displeased with her reception—in fact, got very angry about it, claiming she was insulted,—and after the performance, May 10, 1852, had her wardrobe and effects removed from the house. Early the next morning, the theater burned down. The fire is said to have been due to faulty structural conditions and the dilapidated state of the heating arrangements. Lola Montez gave a performance the next evening in the Museum, a small hall on Washington street. The Buffalo papers of the time make no mention of the cigarette story.

SOME EARLY
BUFFALO CHARACTERS

By FRANK M. HOLLISTER

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Of a few persons and things standing out in my own recollections of Buffalo in the "fifties" I may speak here. If I were master of the pictorial art I could paint a picture of "Crazy John," for example, that every one recalling him and his piteous story would instantly recognize. A tall, lean man of thirty years, perhaps, with the pathetically wistful look in his eyes of one half-conscious of a hopeless quest for lost wits, John was a familiar and welcome visitor in most of the kitchens in my neighborhood. It was understood that he had lost his reason either through disappointed love or from over-study. The accomplishments he was in the habit of displaying as a return for food and warmth were limited to dancing and saying his prayers. He made few complaints, the only one I recall being that his father shaved him with the scissors, a process he found no pleasure in. "All the ladies love me," he would say. "Do you love me? Give me two cents." I can see his poor gaunt figure at the street corner now, his eyes peering furtively up and down, this way and that. Then he would start off at a rapid pace—nowhere, as if a happy thought had struck him or a call had come for him. It will probably be hard to make those who never knew "Crazy John" realize how large a place this gentle and forlorn creature fills in the memories of some of us. Boys are often thoughtless to the point of

cruelty to animals and the mentally defective; but I cannot remember any one teasing or tormenting "Crazy John."

OLD SCOTT.

Another quaint character that those who lived in Buffalo fifty or sixty years ago recall with a smile was "old Scott," the one-legged colored town crier, galloping about on a kind of an animated rocking horse and offering rewards for the restoration of lost children. His appearance, foretold by a bell which he swung with great vigor, and his proclamations, created almost as much excitement as the booming of the fire-bells and the desperate anxiety of Red Jacket 6 to get to the scene of conflagration before Live Oak 2. Really to appreciate the importance of this figure of old Buffalo, one should have been a small child in the forties, with a keen memory of the dreadful sound of the crier's bell, which smote one's ear while running home, hours behind time, followed by the loud cry: "Oh, Yes! I have lost a little Yankee boy five years old. He had on a blue jacket on, and gray pants on, and some shoes on his feet, and who ever puts me on the track of that little Yankee boy will be well rewarded."

EARLY DELAWARE AVENUE.

It must have been in Scott's day, in "the forties," that historic times really dawned on my own personal consciousness with the narrow escape I had from being killed by an enraged sow on the sidewalk on Delaware avenue near Mohawk street. In those days swine and cattle were allowed to roam for forage in the streets of this as of other American cities, greatly to the surprise and disgust of Mrs. Trollope, Charles Dickens and other fastidious travellers. Misconstruing my attempt to pet one of her progeny the animal charged with fury and bowled me over, and I have

always understood that I was only saved from the ignominious fate of being reduced to sausage meat, then and there, by the timely interposition of a chance passer-by. Strangely enough, this gruesome incident, vividly stamped on my memory, has never impaired in the slightest degree my life-long fondness for pigs, more especially, I should say, in the sublimated form of spare-ribs, bacon and sausages.

“WATER JOHN.”

I do not personally remember a certain “Water John,” who may be properly recalled here, as a sort of companion-piece to Scott, the town-crier. Mr. Samuel M. Welch, in his breezy “Recollections of Buffalo Fifty Years Since,” published in 1891, while writing of the town’s primitive method of obtaining spring water from the Jubilee Water Works, near Gates Circle, through hollow logs, notes, as a curious coincidence, looking out of his window and seeing workmen disinterring from a trench in front of Sherman S. Jewett’s residence some of those same primitive wooden conduits. He goes on to remark that another water-supply supplemented the Jubilee logs in early times, namely, that furnished by John Kutcheson, who filled a hogshead with lake water and drove it on wheels about town, selling it to regular customers. He was a jolly happy-go-lucky Alsatian and one of the town characters. His depot, a frame and plaster shack on the southwest corner of Franklin and Court streets, survived until 1910. Mr. Kutcheson siphoned water into his peripatetic reservoir at the foot of Erie street and sold it at the rate of a shilling (twelve and a half cents) a barrel.

THE LAKE CAPTAINS.

I have often thought it a pity that some one with Mark Twain’s memory, gifts of literary expression and intimate

acquaintance with his subject, could not have commemorated the skill, daring and resourcefulness of our early lake navigators, as Mr. Clemens has happily preserved the marvellous story of piloting on the Mississippi, in the halcyon days of steamboat traffic on that mighty stream. If Captain Dorr, or Captain Dobbins, had possessed the literary knack, or if the late L. G. Sellstedt, who had the knack, had caught the inspiration and had gathered material available forty years ago but lost forever now, we might have had a longer list of old-time characters to draw from than is within my ken today. The lake captains of the period between 1820 and 1850 were a peculiarly hardy, bold and clever race of navigators. To command a lake passenger steamer was then a far more difficult and dangerous duty than to command a vessel on the ocean. During the greater part of this period the lakes were not adequately charted, lights were few and harbors unprotected. The lake captains sailed by eye and ear and they had their work cut out for them by about as hazardous conditions as could have been found on any large body of water in the world. Without doubt there were "characters" among these brave and capable mariners of whom we should like to know more than their names, which is about all the information that has come down to us concerning them. Mr. Welch pays handsome tribute to them as a class and has recorded many names, some of which I remember well as of heroes I have seen or heard celebrated in local tradition.

Of these I may mention Captain Bob Wagstaff of the Northern Indiana, and Captain A. D. Perkins of her equally famous consort, the Southern Michigan. Buffalo boys used to go down to the foot of Main street to feast admiring eyes upon these splendid vessels. Then there was Captain Morris Hazard of the Empire State, and as for the City of

Buffalo, the latest and peerless flower of the old side-wheel floating palaces, no Buffalo boy who lived in "the fifties" will ever abandon in this world the conviction that she was the handsomest ship that ever floated. Of course, we understand that the great *Imperator*, the latest triumph of megalomania in marine architecture, is bigger, but "the lines" of the City of Buffalo were much finer. The Waldorf-Astoria is bigger than the Albright Art Gallery, but—well, you see how it is.

Among the retired lake captains who resided in Buffalo some few may recall Wormwood, commonly known as Deacon Wormwood, who became a pillar of the Methodist Church on Niagara street, where the Masonic Temple now stands. The Deacon was a Christian of the stern, unbending type and in his store, near the wharf, where he sold sailors' outfits, he often had occasion to vindicate his religious principles. His customers when sober respected his scruples, but one day a drunken fellow became abusive and blasphemed horribly. Deacon Wormwood, marching up to the offender with fire in his eye, cried, "Drop that, you rascal; another word and I'll backslide for five minutes and give you the damndest hiding you ever had in your life."

Before leaving the ancient mariners I might make a passing allusion to a certain Fred Emmons, mentioned by several chroniclers of small beer as "a famous humorist" and practical joker in the middle decades of the century. Emmons was a steamboat runner, or agent, whose taste in jokes was shown in scaring a party of idlers in Stevenson's livery office nearly out of their senses by declaring that he was tired of life and putting what looked like a keg of gunpowder into a blazing fire. A less drastic jest was that he played at the expense of a farmer whom he induced to drive a load upon a platform in front of the churches where the

town sundial was located and wait patiently for the official weigher, under the belief that it was a hay-scale. As for Mr. Emmons's humor, it appears to have had but one dimension—breadth only. It would have to be described, I fear, as of the kind that distinguished the literature which Mr. Wegg thought could not be read aloud in the presence of Mrs. Boffin. And there were other humorists of the early days, anecdotes of whom are likewise debarred from rehearsal in my discreet paper by the application of this same wholesome test.

JOSEPH ELLICOTT.

Among the most notable characters among our own townspeople in the first two decades of the last century, must be reckoned Joseph Ellicott, in whose imagination, before men lived on the spot, the city of Buffalo was pictured in a future more brilliant than it has yet realized. In 1800, when he was forty years old, Joseph Ellicott, who had surveyed the great Holland Purchase for Dutch capitalists, became the agent of the Holland Land Company and served in that capacity for twenty years. His policy, in dealing with settlers in the townships under his charge, was lenient and far-sighted, in one sense. He advised purchasers to pay in part only and to keep a reserve for improvements on the land. This liberal arrangement might have worked out better for the interests of his principals had not the war of 1812 and a period of bankruptcy intervened. The actual result was disastrous. During these twenty years Joseph Ellicott was the great man in Western New York—literally "monarch of all he surveyed"; and it is to be said to his credit that vast power neither corrupted him nor made him arrogant. He did not exert his influence in politics, but did lend it freely to the building up of the community—to the

cause of education and of religion; to the building of the Erie Canal. It is a pity that his plan for erecting a mansion on the "Ellicott Square," which originally included the lots between Eagle and Swan streets and from Main running back to Michigan street, was abandoned, owing to the parochial narrowness and obstinacy of the town officers. He meant to develop a fine park there and to bequeath it to the city to be used for a public resort. Another of his large projects not carried out was the construction of a great inner harbor between the Terrace and the lake. Ellicott was the seer, the prophet of Greater Buffalo. It was after the Erie Canal was completed that one of the early boomers wrote: "Buffalo has no rival—it can have none. Cities west of us may arise to wealth and importance, but they will be our tributaries; . . . thus rendering Buffalo what it may ever claim to be—the Great National Exchange." The loose screw in this reasoning, as in Joseph Ellicott's prophecies, was failure to anticipate the effect on Buffalo of the opening-up of the West by railroads. That was a factor no one could anticipate.

THE FOUNDER OF BUFFALO.

One man looms pre-eminent among the early Buffalonians—Samuel Wilkeson. He is called "the Father," or "Founder" of the city. On his monument in Forest Lawn are placed the words

"URBEM CONDIDIT"—"HE BUILT THE CITY."

What this tribute means is that to him more than to any other man is due the credit of inducing the state authorities to make Buffalo the terminus of the Erie Canal and of opening Buffalo river as a harbor for lake vessels. The story of the harbor-building is a familiar one and shows Judge Wilkeson's strong characteristics to great advantage.

He was of Scotch-Irish stock—which some people think the finest strain in our American blend. President Woodrow Wilson, when president of Princeton, said at a Harvard Commencement: "I am one of those who are of the seed of that indomitable blood, planted in so many parts of the United States, which makes good fighting stuff—the Scotch-Irish. The beauty about a Scotch-Irishman is that he not only thinks he is right, but knows he is right." Samuel Wilkeson had the fighting-stuff in him—he came by it honestly. Six Wilkesons were killed at the siege of Derry. John, the father of Samuel, fought throughout the Revolutionary War. Eight of his grandsons fought to save the Union—"all on the shooting line." And Samuel, too, "knew he was right." That was why he beat General Porter and Black Rock on the canal proposition and forced the building at Buffalo of the steamboat *Superior*, which succeeded the wrecked *Walk-in-the-Water*, first steamboat on Lake Erie. He was not always right but he was always in earnest and usually had his way. He was, in short, a born leader and the acknowledged head-man in Buffalo in the quarter of a century following the close of the War of 1812. He had three sons, William, John and Samuel, who were also men of force and intellectual power, and who worthily maintained the reputation of the family. The homestead, built by Judge Wilkeson in 1825, still stands on Niagara Square, a dignified monument in a way, to its builder who "built the city." If it becomes any community to rear monuments in honor of its founders, Buffalo ought thus to commemorate the masterful and public spirited Samuel Wilkeson. Is it not strange that there should be in this city a public memorial of Red Jacket, the Seneca chief, but none of Samuel Wilkeson, its founder and chief citizen? "This man," wrote his son Samuel, "was a king among men. Men

obeyed him without loss of self-respect. He moved masses of men and did not excite jealousy. His scorn of what was dishonorable or mean was grand. His courage was chivalric and complete. And way down in the lion heart of the man was a soft nest in which his children were held and his friends found warmth and sympathy." In the comparatively short and simple annals of our city we shall find no finer type of all 'round manhood than Samuel Wilkeson.

A DARING EXPLOIT.

In connection with Wilkeson and his memorable achievement in making a harbor at this port, I must mention here the most recklessly daring feat ever performed on this frontier. N. K. Olmstead and James Sloan were two assistants of the Judge in the harbor work whom he praised highly in his writings. Wilkeson writes: "N. K. Olmstead was a man of unusual muscular power. The severe labor he performed on harbor work, perhaps no man in the country could equal. He lived in Buffalo when the village was burned by the British, and his home and property were destroyed. When peace was declared he declined to be a party to the contract, remaining alert to make reprisal while on the river. Managing to obtain a load of (British) military supplies to transport from Chippewa to Fort Erie, which included two kegs of specie, he landed on the American shore and hid the money. He then left the frontier, but returned to Buffalo in 1819. When on harbor work he at times went to the Canada shore for boat-loads of stone, and on such an occasion was arrested and placed in a boat to be taken to Chippewa. The boat had a small skiff in tow, in which was a single paddle. When nearing Chippewa he leaped into the skiff, cut its fastening, and took to the rapid current, where his captors declined his pursuit. By extra-

ordinary exertion he landed on Grass Island. Observing a boat putting out from Chippewa, he again braved the rapids and managed to make Porter's mill-race. A less active and powerful man would have been swept over the falls. The next day he resumed harbor work."

COLONEL "LANCE" PALMER.

It takes all sorts to make a world, even so small a world as our Buffalo was when it first became a city, in 1832. This community in the thirties was as gay a town for its size as there was in the land. It was full of characters. Take Colonel Alanson Palmer, for example. From all that I have read of "Lance" Palmer, I imagine him to have been a gaudy combination of Mr. Micawber, Colonel Sellers and "Old Billy" Lee. Like Mr. Micawber he was affable and generous to a fault, "not only with his own money," says Mr. Welch, who knew him, "but with that of other people." Like Colonel Sellers, he was a born speculator, overflowing with grand schemes that rarely came to anything. And like "Old Billy" Lee, of whom Lowell tells, he was a magnificent spendthrift. Billy Lee's idea of a competence was "a million a minute and expenses paid." Colonel Palmer could have taken the starch even out of Rockefeller's fortune. He was a very handsome man and in his prosperous days famous for his fashionable raiment and brilliant equipages. The pin on his ruffled shirt front, a portrait of Andrew Jackson, set in diamonds, was the envy of all the lesser swells of the period. Well, Colonel Palmer flourished like the grass and was soon cut down, of course. There was a rank growth of that sort in Buffalo during the boom times in the thirties, most of which vanished when the light went out, with the gas, in the panic of '37. Colonel Palmer left a more substantial monument than some of the high-flyers, however, in the original grand American Hotel, which he

built, and which, we are told, had "some features only to be found in certain royal palaces in Europe." He also built one of the only two full-rigged ships that ever sailed the lakes. This vessel was named for his wife, the *Julia Palmer*. Very characteristically she carried every sail ever mentioned in the history of navigation. She was elegantly finished in mahogany and shining brass. Mr. Welch says that Monte Cristo's yacht was a hooker to the *Julia Palmer*. Unfortunately she didn't pay and was later converted into a mere steamboat. The Colonel was never converted. Yet his intentions were of the best. There were no public schools then and Colonel Palmer, seeing the need, established the Palmer School with a handsome endowment for sixty pupils. In two or three years the securities of which the endowment consisted became worthless and the school collapsed.

The Colonel was certainly a character. He scorned small transactions. Once over a cold bottle he said to a companion: "I'll give you \$150,000 for everything you own, except your wife and babies and household effects." "Done," says the other and the bargain was consummated. The Colonel took lands, houses, mortgages, notes; paid part in cash and gave a mortgage to secure the rest. Guy H. Salisbury in his interesting paper on the "Speculative Craze of 1836"¹ alludes to this incident and in close context writes: "Day before yesterday (his paper was written in 1863), I met that wholesale purchaser on his way to the Poorhouse with a certificate from the Overseer in his hand." In 1836 Alanson Palmer was almost a millionaire and the most dashing figure in Buffalo society. Thirty years later his burial was a public charge. In him it may be said, is to be seen the personification, in its most engaging and yet pitiful form, of the "Buffalo boom" of 1836-7.

1. See Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, vol. IV, pp. 317-337.

THREE LAWYERS.

Of the old-time members of the bar, perhaps no one is better entitled to honorable mention in the category of "Early Buffalo Characters" than Roswell L. Burrows. Mr. Burrows was commonly called Judge Burrows, after he had served for a time as County Judge. He looked like an old-fashioned country lawyer. In dress, speech and manner he was extremely unconventional, but he is remembered by the veterans of the bar as one of the masters of the science of law in this community. He was said to be so much more interested in the legal aspects of his cases than in the mere winning of a verdict that he seemed to be acting as counsel for both sides, sometimes to the dismay of his own client. He could not help looking at the case on all sides and his careful weighing of arguments and balancing of the merits of a disputation tended to aggravate "the law's delays." He had a dry, caustic wit in which his contemporaries delighted. One day a friend informed him that his partner, David F. Day, who was even more deliberate in action than himself, had discovered a new species of snail in one of his excursions in the suburbs. "Hm!" grunted Burrows, with a twinkle in his eye; "David must have met it!" To another friend who asked for the address of a notary public, Burrows said: "A notary public! Why, lift a plank anywhere and a dozen will scabble away."

As a complete antithesis to R. L. Burrows, John Ganson may be mentioned. He was a handsome, well-groomed, aristocratic looking man of courtly manners and rare ability. He was brilliant and yet thorough. He had the artist's joy in perfection of professional work and there was pleasure as well as profit for other lawyers in seeing him try a case. When a Member of Congress, during the Civil War, Mr. Ganson once called upon the President and said:

"Mr. President, can it be true as reported that you intend to issue an Emancipation Proclamation in the near future?"

Mr. Lincoln looked the elegant thoroughbred all over, rather quizzically, and then laying a big hand on his inquisitor's shoulder quite irrelevantly observed:

"Why, Ganson, how close you shave!"

As one historic example of Lincoln's various happy ways of maintaining discreet reserve on important questions, or of bringing too protracted interviews to a close, this anecdote, though familiar to many, will bear repetition here. John Ganson was a notable personage in whatever circle he moved, and the impression he made on his contemporaries was deep and lasting. The late Sherman S. Rogers, who survived his friend many years, often mentioned to his intimates the fact that the most constantly recurrent figure in his dreams was John Ganson.

In his day a certain nondescript lawyer named Josiah Cook, universally known as "Joe" Cook, was one of the town "characters." How he ever broke into the legal profession was veiled with the same mystery that surrounded his escape from the clutches of the Vigilance Committee in San Francisco in 1849. Perhaps the late Police Justice Thomas King, himself a member of that committee, could have dispelled some of the mystery had he been interrogated. But it matters little now. "Joe" Cook was a criminal lawyer in a rather broad sense of the word. To the lake transportation companies he was a terror, by reason of his pernicious activities as attorney for deckhands and roustabouts who had disputes about wages with the vessel owners. On a three or seven dollar claim he would libel and hold up a steamer whose time was worth big money. His success on these lines grew into a kind of blackmail that resulted in Mr. Cook's accepting a regular "retainer" from

every large transportation interest in Buffalo. He had an office and lodgings in the old Spaulding's Exchange on the Terrace. It was doubtless in his flush days that he bought the famous sealskin overcoat that made him a marked figure in the streets and saloons of the city for many winters. He kept no books and squandered his income in gambling and riotous living. He died in his squalid rooms on the Terrace, a forlorn and pitiable object. But his last months were brightened by the charity of a lawyer friend of this city who had known him in his prosperous days and could "make allowances."

R. W. HASKINS.

In looking for "characters" among the old-time Buffalonians we naturally search for men different from their contemporaries, distinguished by exceptional qualities and temperaments, by eccentricities and so on. In this class I cannot fail to notice Roswell W. Haskins, one of the most interesting personalities of his day and generation. Our respect, and even admiration for the man is heightened by the fact that his childhood was unhappy and that he had no advantages in the way of education and training other than those obtained in the hard school of adversity. He came to Buffalo in 1822, after a few years spent in New York and Canandaigua; acquired a modest competence at journalism, book-binding and book-selling and retired from business in 1832 at the age of 36 to devote his time to scientific studies and the public welfare. He mastered the French language that he might read the reports of the French Academy of Science. He was chairman of the meeting at which the Young Men's Association was organized and was one of the earliest friends and supporters of the Society of Natural Sciences. He cared nothing for money, but was always thinking and planning in a large way for the develop-

ment of natural forces for the general good. Mr. Sellstedt, in his excellent paper on Mr. Haskins in the Historical Society Publications,¹ tells how he argued for the utilization of natural gas and of electricity for lighting purposes; how he proposed the use of iron columns in buildings and urged a continuous line of railroad from Albany to Buffalo, ten years before it became a reality. In all these manifestations of a vigorous and original mind he was simply a generation or two ahead of his time. Most people could not understand him and he resented their lack of appreciation. Naturally such a man could not accept the geology of the Old Testament and as his dissent was bluntly expressed, many persons thought him a "dangerous" character.

Doubtless the community generally regarded him as "queer," while he thought his upright life and disinterested labors deserved at least the good opinion of his fellows. Thus in later years he became isolated and embittered. But back in 1830, when the cholera ravaged the town, no other man so gave himself and all his time and strength to nursing the friendless and alleviating the misery of the awful situation as did R. W. Haskins. A miserable vagabond when stricken with the plague was left alone in a deserted tenement. Haskins sought him out, carried him in his arms to a wagon and put him in the hospital. He and Loring Pierce, the undertaker, were the heroes of this terrible episode. If R. W. Haskins did not believe that the whale swallowed Jonah, and was not sound on the natural science in Genesis, nevertheless, he was the best Christian of them all when the time came that tried men's souls.

PIERCE, THE UNDERTAKER.

Speaking of Loring Pierce, in connection with Mr. Haskins, there was a character who certainly deserves hon-

1. See vol. IV, pp. 257-284.

orable rank among the rough diamonds of older Buffalo. He survived in my own day and I remember him well. A big, burly man, brusque in manner and of a bluntness of speech that would jar the teeth out of modern sensibilities. These qualities imparted to his ministrations a certain humor that was certainly incongruous, but is, I confess, the chief characteristic of the man that abides in my memory. His loudly whispered summons to a fellow-pallbearer of mine on one occasion: "You boy with a mouth big enough to eat pudd'n' with a shovel," put a terrible nervous strain on all of us. And who that has heard Mr. Pierce's laconic order to the bearers: "Fetch her," when the moment for action had come, will ever forget it! Mr. Pierce's heart was tender if his speech and manners were rough. He meant to pay a compliment when he assured a lady that she would "make a lovely corpse." One cannot imagine our modern funeral directors, to whom a decorous and sympathetic sobriety of demeanor has become a second nature, guilty of seeming brutalities like these.

But Loring Pierce was a character and a privileged one. He was sexton, undertaker and general utility man in mortuary matters. His humor, in one sense, was in harmony with his business. It was deadly. Alas! poor Yorick! It is related that he was himself in mortal fear of death. However this may have been in his later days, in his prime he never flinched when he had to walk hand in hand with the Enemy, day and night, for months together. In 1832, when pestilence held the town in its grip, Lewis F. Allen, with Haskins and Dyre Tillinghast, was a member of the Board of Health. In his account of this invasion of cholera in Buffalo, he tells how he went to bed alone in his house, on Main street, one night, in the midst of a violent thunderstorm. About midnight he was startled by a tap at the

window and upon investigation found Pierce outside. In reply to an anxious inquiry as to what had happened, Pierce said :

"Well, Mr. Allen, I've got six coffins in my wagon and am going up to the graveyard to bury them ; and not knowing but you would like to take a look at the bodies and see that all was right, thought I'd call and ask you."

"And is that all?" asked the astonished Allen. "In such a storm as this, you call me out of bed to see six coffins on the way to burial. You are surely not alone."

"Oh, no! I've got Black Tony with me—he's watching the wagon now in the street. I guess we two can bury 'em and get home before morning. Good night, Mr. Allen."

The next morning Pierce was at his post at the Board of Health office, sedate as usual, as if he had slept all night. Mr. Allen's tribute is brief but significant. "Pierce was a hero."

AN HUMBLE HEROINE.

There were heroines, as well as heroes, too, in those days. When the chief nurse at the improvised hospital died suddenly, it was difficult to fill the unenviable position. In the emergency Pierce found a healthy Irish girl of twenty who volunteered to take the place. She did fine work but in four days Pierce buried her, too, sadly and tenderly. She was known only as "Bridget." And there was another—one Lydia Harper, a woman of the town, thirty years of age, whose appearance and carriage belied her occupation. When there was sore need of attendants for the sick this woman offered her services, without pay, and proved a ministering angel. She nursed the sick most efficiently and tenderly in the best and worst houses in the city throughout the cholera season. When the crisis passed she went back to her vocation and so into oblivion. But somewhere, we may be sure,

there are books kept where brave and devoted service, like that of "Bridget" and of Lydia Harper, is duly credited.

LE GRAND MARVIN.

All Buffalonians who have known Le Grand Marvin will concede that he was entitled to the distinction of being the queerest character that ever made this city his home. He was born Nov. 9, 1807, in Clinton Valley, New York, "hale then," he records in his will, "and uniformly so 'til in 1880, July 24th to 27th, on rush of blood to my left eye-socket." "My incline from a child," he continues in this same unique instrument, "to investigate causes, etc., and to do right, withheld me from seeking claimed (but really pseudo) benefits in any 'ring,' in or out of religious or political partyism, or other bigotry, or secret societies, yet aggressive everywhere, 'for the right of the masses' (even though unaided) thereby some selfish, bad, or evil persons (some vicious lawyers, judges, ministers, etc.) tried to advance their selfish, untruthful purposes by perversions and untruths, as to me and my doings; as pre-threatened, in substance, to 'crush' me in newspapers and elsewhere and by unjust suits, inequitable and willfully erroneous opinions, with inequitable decisions unjustly to harm me." The mental attitude toward society, and individuals with whom he came in contact, disclosed in this characteristic passage would doubtless have enabled Professor William James to reconstruct a Le Grand Marvin much as Agassiz would correctly classify and describe a whole fish from a single bone. This man was a born come-outer. He was not a gregarious animal. He distrusted and condemned all churches, political parties and professions. He found women full of guile and men wicked conspirators against his property and his peace of mind. His memory is per-

petuated, in the city where he lived sixty years, by his own skeleton, handsomely mounted, in the rooms of the Medical College, to which he bequeathed it, and by a bundle of papers and pamphlets in the Public Library containing a minute history of his interminable quarrels and litigation with his wife, brother and other relatives. A search among Mr. Marvin's literary remains reveals only two papers not litigious in character. Even in his famous will he fights his battles over again in 37 printed pages. The first of the two non-polemical documents was his diary, written in his youth before he had acquired the fearful and wonderful style that marks his maturer composition. The other is a lecture on "The Benefits of Rum," written in 1829. The title, the reader will find, is to be taken ironically. In robust sarcasm the author depicts the joys and glories of the habitual drinking of intoxicating liquors. It was a great industry in Buffalo in 1829; six thousand gallons were then drunk yearly. Mr. Marvin figured the toppers would drink up the town and consume their own bodies in a hundred years. "What a sublime thought it must be," he says, "to drink down not only whole farms and swallow houses, but to gullup (*sic*) down one's own arms and bodies—in comparison with which Jonah's whale is but a small fish." The writer then tells of a woman eighty years old, addicted to strong drink for many years, who went off in spontaneous combustion one day, and he says he could mention several cases in which a moderate drinker's breath has caught fire from coming in contact with a candle!

TRAGEDY OF THE BLACK CAT.

Le Grand Marvin's eccentricities of speech and conduct constituted one of the joys of life in Buffalo forty and fifty years ago. It is safe to assume that few older residents in

this community, addicted to the habit of keeping "scrap books," have failed to preserve choice examples of his unconventional style. From one of the golden treasuries of local memorabilia there comes a contribution that deserves "honorable mention," at least, in this category. The correspondence may be said to explain itself:

LE GRAND MARVIN,
LAW OFFICE.

BUFFALO, April 20th, 1876, 7 A. M.

MR. THOMAS FARNHAM,
At 637 Main St.

This morning in my rear yard just by the garden gate—I perceive a black dead cat; said by my family to be one of your two cats, yesterday P. M. in our back yard by the cherry tree—amusing themselves, when our kind neighbor, Mr. L. C. Woodruff's, powerful dog leaped over the partition fence between Mr. W. & my yard wholly uncalled, & unprovoked & prior unnoticed—ruthlessly attacked the cats, —one of which escaped up the cherry tree,—while he greatly injured the other cat before he could be driven off,—& NOW that injured cat after having sympathy & care & seeming restoration in part last evening—is the dead cat. So much is due to you as neighbor—& to Mr. W., who of course, would not approve the ruthlessness—& of course—you will dispose of the dead cat as you deem meet;—only PLEASE have it so disposed of THIS MORNING; or suggest if any misapprehension (above) of supposed facts—

Resp yr frd

LE GRAND MARVIN.

LAW OFFICE, NO. 639 MAIN ST.
BUFFALO, May 22, 1876, 10 P. M.

MR. THOMAS FARNHAM,
At 637 Main St.

Last week,—by a kindly intimation of a successful merchant—was first known to me—a “local” item in the *Buffalo Courier* of 26 April (last), headed “Black Cat.” Then about leaving town—I finally returned late this week & now have said ITEM—quoting parts of my PRIVATE “neighbor” letter of 20 April (last) to you,—

That “item” seems a MALICIOUS, what? & suggests queries—. To wit;

1. Could that “item” have started without said “private” letter had been furnished, by THEE?—of course, not.
2. Art THOU IN a Civilized Community?
3. Is such item MEET for a Civilized Community?
4. Art THOU an elder, or deacon in the 1st Pres. Ch. in Buffalo? So reputed.
5. Is that “item” the standard of “love” or “morals” in that church even in its “session”?
6. What is “meet” to be done under the Circumstances?—

Here is a PAUSE FOR A REPLY.

Resp— & a friend to you all,—in what is right.

LE GRAND MARVIN.

As for the three famous “exposes” of the deceits and machinations of the enemies of Le Grand Marvin, let those who care for the curiosities of literature consult the documentary and printed evidence in the grotesque and pitiful collection in the Buffalo Library.¹

1. In the library of the Historical Society, besides Mr. Marvin’s singular pamphlets, are also preserved his will (typewritten) and five manuscript diaries, with his own entries and memoranda through several years; also two folio volumes, with his own records of cases at court, 1873-1884.

HEROIC TREATMENT.

How can I fail at least to mention that heroic old practitioner of the early days, Dr. Cyrenius Chapin? Dr. Chapin practiced by ear and the rule of thumbscrew. Let me note one prescription which was recently in the possession of the late Barton Atkins. It is in the shape of a bill for services rendered the famous Red Jacket:

ERASTUS GRANGER, *Esq.*,

DR.

To CYRENIUS CHAPIN.

For medical attention and for medicine delivered to Red Jacket, Nov. 5th, 1806.

To emetics.

Croton oil pills.

Sol. Tartar emetic.

Spice and opium plaster.

Pills of Croton Oil.

Item second.

19th call.

Cathartic.

Sol. of Glauber's Salts.

Emetic of Powdered Epecac.

Pills of Croton Oil.

Total £1, 17s. 0 d.

Received Payment, Buffalo Creek,

CYRENIUS CHAPIN.

"Some of the doses thus prescribed have been known to kill a horse," comments Mr. Atkins, "but Red Jacket survived the treatment twenty-four years."

CLINTON AND SALISBURY.

And then there was that most interesting and lovable of men, George W. Clinton, lawyer, judge, naturalist—a delightful character! He was not like other men but wherein he differed he excelled in all ways that go to make up a gentle, strong and winning personality. I remember the old man, but know him best by tradition and the tributes of friends. There were in this man qualities, tastes and a fellowship with nature that made him kindred with Walton, White of Selborne and our own Thoreau—different from each with much in common with all. If R. W. Haskins was the father of the Society of Natural Sciences, Judge Clinton was its constant patron and sympathetic supporter.

I may also note another attractive character of the middle decades of the last century—Guy H. Salisbury. “In his happy moments,” wrote one who knew him well, “as he was a few years ago, we seldom conversed with him without the suggested recollection of what literary tradition relates of Lamb. It was the suggestion of a likeness in exquisite simplicity of nature, in womanly delicacy of feeling and thought—in a certain quaint tone of being which is very rare.” Salisbury, like others of his name, was connected with the press of Buffalo and engaged in other pursuits, but these do not concern us. His personality is a fragrant remembrance.

OTHER NOTABLE MEN.

There were other notable characters in the professions in Buffalo's early day—George P. Barker, John Talcott and Aibert H. Tracy, in the law; Dr. George W. Hosmer, whose thirty years' pastorate here was a power among the influences that made for civic and personal righteousness; Dr. William Shelton, the stout churchman, famed for brusque speech and big heart; and Dr. John C. Lord of the

Central Presbyterian Church, whose good wife's amiable eccentricities made her a more talked about, if not a more prominent figure, in local society, than was her distinguished husband. I would like to recall to the memory of some of you the McArthurs, who kept the famous candy shop. Mrs. Poole, whose "Reminiscences" were lately published,¹ and all of us, agree that there are no sweets in these degenerate days "like mother used to make" and the sedate McArthurs used to sell.

Our city of Buffalo, a very mushroom of a city in comparison with many others, being younger, reckoning from its burning in 1812, than men now living, has nevertheless been prolific in "characters" coming within the purview of my subject. It is truly a little world, full of interest to the student, and especially to the lover of human nature.

" Whatever moulds of various brain,
E'er shaped the world to weal or woe,
Whatever empires wax and wane,
To him who hath not eyes in vain
His village Microcosm can show."

1. See Publications, Buffalo Historical Society, vol. VIII, pp. 439-493.

MEMORIES OF
EARLY DAYS IN BUFFALO

By SYLVESTER J. MATHEWS

MEMORIES OF EARLY DAYS IN BUFFALO

By SYLVESTER J. MATHEWS¹

Buffalo in 1838 was a city of "magnificent(?) distances." The speculative bubbles that had been blown during the previous decade had been bursted as in a single night by the panic of '37. Building enterprises of every kind were at a standstill, real estate in great quantities had been thrown into chancery and much more tied up in various ways of litigation, rendering it unavailable for new enterprises that subsequently started up in the '40's, and in some instances even into the '50's.

Vast tracts of land within the city limits were held by Eastern capitalists for speculation. Notable among them

1. The author of these reminiscences was born in Auburn, N. Y., where he is now residing, in hale old age. In response to a request from the editor of this volume, for facts about himself, Mr. Mathews writes that after removal, with his father's family, to Utica in 1833, and to Ithaca in 1835, he came to Buffalo in 1837. Here he was "a little Sunday-school scholar in the Old First Presbyterian Church basement Sunday-school room, with entrance on Pearl street." "The old-time Sunday-school picnics to the old Indian Mission Church of the Senecas, four miles away, were great events in our youthful days. Later I was a pupil of Dr. Chambers' private school in the basement of the Unitarian Church, corner of Franklin and Eagle streets." He recalls his schoolmates, among them Julia Dean, the actress. He was fond of sketching, and used to make excursions with "Al" (the Rev. Albert) Bigelow "on the old Black Rock horse-ferry boat to Fort Erie for sketches of the picturesque ruins. He remembers the steamboat Caroline, and many stirring episodes of the Patriot War of '37-'8. He was for a time in the employ of Hall & Mooney, printers and lithographers, and during the period about which most of his reminiscences cluster, he lived at the corner of Court and Pearl streets.

was that strip of barren plain of a quarter of a mile and over in width that extended for a mile and a half east from near Niagara street and away over the Cheektowaga town line. Washington, Ellicott, Oak, Elm, Michigan and other streets north from Genesee street, which crossed this young Siberia on paper, without even a fence, tree or house to mark their passage across were left unimproved until late in the '40's, excepting their continuations over the hill north across High, North, Goodrich and other streets in the Cold Spring district.

Consequently the march of improvement came not from the old center and spreading out into the suburbs, but it came rolling in down Niagara street at the north from "over the hills from the poor-house" in Black Rock, down Main from the country seats of Cold Spring, up Genesee from the plains of Cheektowaga in the east, up Batavia (now Broadway), from the Prussian settlements beyond the hemlock woods, up Swan and Seneca, from the Hydraulics, and across the flats from Bidwell & Banta's shipyards in the south.

Along the docks the commercial spirit was as buoyant as ever, for the long heads then in possession were conscious of the fact that they held the keys of the "Gate City" of the Lakes, and were putting their houses, boats and docks in order for the fast-incoming tide of emigration that was to seek an entrance through Buffalo to the great Northwest.

The all-the-year-round business of Buffalo was at that time mostly done on Main street, between the canal bridge, just below the Mansion House, and up to Genesee street in fronts that are now covered by about 400 numbers. Between the canal and harbor were the wholesale dealers, storage and forwarders, lumber yards, boiler shops, foundries, machine shops, soap and candle factories, ship

chandlery and sail lofts, sailor boarding-houses, boat repairing shops, etc.

Architecturally speaking, the style of buildings at that period was somewhat mixed. Beginning with the old red warehouse at the foot of Main street, on which was painted in big white letters "E. W. Munger, Ship Chandlery, Storage and Forwarding," and passing up were to be noted some very loud examples of old-time boss carpenters' designing. Across the street, at the junction of Ohio street, was a block of three-story brick buildings, extending up to Washington street, with a frontage on the dock and also on Ohio street, which went by the name of Ohio Buildings, in which was a little of everything. On the opposite corner was a jumble of one and two-story wood buildings on the site of which was subsequently erected the Commercial Hotel.¹ A little further up to the left George B. Walbridge & Co. had lately erected a fine large four-story lemon-colored front, wholesale grocery house and were doing the big grocery business of the town. This building was burned one night during the late '40's, when young Calvin Bishop, one of the clerks sleeping there, lost his life. All that was ever found of him, after a search of nearly a week, was a small charred mass containing his heart.

Just above the Walbridge store was the cream-colored front, two-story brick hotel, the Ohio House, with an immense burnished tin-top dome, large enough for a good-sized capitol building—presumably planned to hold all the guests at one time and give them a good view of the lake. Its usefulness as a point of observation was brought to an end by the erection of the lofty walls of the Walbridge building.

1. See Publications, Buf. Hist. Soc'y, Vol. XVI, p. 55, for a picture of this hotel. Several other old-time buildings mentioned by Mr. Mathews are illustrated in that volume.

Old lake men used to say that when coming down the lake on a clear day, the first object sighted in Buffalo was the old hotel dome, glistening like a huge diamond, 20 miles away.

At the east side of Main street at the corner of Perry street stood a little white tavern with no name and apparently no proprietor, but always doing a big three-cent bar trade. On the opposite corner commenced that monotonous stretch of four-story brick fronts of 22 stores, called the "Webster Block," that had lately been erected. In about the middle of the block, projected from over the eaves a mammoth gold anvil, swinging and glistening in the sun, a conspicuous object from far up Main. "Thompson Bros.' Wholesale Hardware," was the legend.

STEAMBOAT ART.

Two or three doors above, covering two windows of the second story, was a huge framed oil painting of the new and splendid steamboat Buffalo rounding the light-house pier with colors flying, and plowing through the little white-caps like a duck; it made a very breezy and attractive picture. Accompanying signs showed that here the Miller Brothers held forth with their paraphernalia for "House, sign, ornamental and steamboat painting," and stained glass work in great variety. These Millers were artists or artistically inclined artisans, especially I. C., whose "sig." as "del." appeared upon nearly all the lithographs of Hall & Mooney's handsome steamboat plates (every crack boat in those days had a cut of its own, for posters), and occasionally on the fine wood cuts with J. W. Orr, and later Richardson as "Eng." which made them famous, they being eventually gathered into citizenship by New-Yorkers, who appreciated Buffalo fine-art work. The Millers, however,

were "in to stay." The rivalry among steamboat men and the inauguration of lavish display in cabin ornamental work by the Reed line of steamers soon "had 'em all in for it," and nearly every steamer of any pretensions built at other lake ports had to be run down to Buffalo for the Millers to put on the finishing touches. Along in the '40's it was as good as a visit to a fine-art gallery to go through the cabins of the first-class steamers, of which some days there were five or six at a time in port.

The appropriateness of designs for the names of the steamers was observable in the burning prairie scenes for the Buffalo; Mississippi and Missouri views for the St. Louis; Rocky Mountain and Pacific coast views for the Oregon; Hudson-river scenery for the Hendrick Hudson; Oriental scenery for the Sutland, and old-time Indian and Dutch for the Albany; north European for the Baltic; Canadian lake, river, city and Indian for the Canada; Niagara Falls and river views for the Niagara; and so along, until the new era in railroads, which necessitated the conversion of our fleet of floating palaces into propellers, barques, barges, etc., and made a revolution in the style and finish for the new comers.

On the west side of Main street, near Lloyd, in a two-story wooden block, with a big oval black sign, with gold letters, set on top of a big square post in country-inn fashion, was our clerical-looking friend, William Madison, with white neckerchief and ruddy face, who, from early morn till late at night, was ready and willing to serve all who wished to patronize the only Temperance House then in Buffalo.

Across the way, between the north end of the Webster Block and the canal, was a two-story white tavern with quite a frontage, called Huff's Hotel, seemingly quite

liberally patronized, so much so as to warrant the building of a large brick four-story addition the following year. Landlord Huff was one of the pleasantest spoken of men, yet there was a peculiarity of speech which to many seemed to be a little Huffy.

On the west, beginning at the canal, was a long row of buildings extending around the corner into Commercial street, covering the site of what subsequently became Spaulding's Exchange. This locality during the '30's enjoyed the best all-the-year-round trade in the city. The variety of small stores attracted the boatmen and emigrants in the summer and farmers, boatbuilders and repairers in the winter.

On the corner of Main and Exchange streets was the old Mansion House, rightly named, for directly opposite, fronting on Exchange street, was the Le Couteulx mansion, a spacious brick house, embowered in the old-time regulation locust, sumach, lilac, snowball and thrifty peach and other fruit trees in great variety, in a well-laid-out garden, abounding with peonies, lilies, roses, honeysuckles, white strawberry beds, spearmint, summer savory, sage and other medicinal and culinary herbs, with vegetables in abundance and, in fact, most everything raised in an old-fashioned garden. The high retaining walls made necessary by the cutting down of Main, Exchange and Washington streets, with which it was bounded, made this a most conspicuous and attractive point for the eyes of the traveler and in a measure contributed to the popularity of the hotel, from the windows and three-story all-around piazzas of which the guests were wont to enjoy the view.

The landlord was the portly, genial embodiment of a man, Philip Dorsheimer, then the most influential man among our German citizens, and very popular with the best

classes of Buffalonians. Subsequently the old building was torn down and the present Mansion House, five stories at first, but now six, erected in its place.

THE OLD TERRACE MARKET.

Opposite, on the west side of Main street, was the grand opening, called The Terrace, upon which had lately been erected between Pearl and Commercial streets in conspicuous shape, quite a stately two-story brick market-house and city building, in the basement of which was the vegetable market stall, and in the Pearl-street end, the watch-house "lock-up coops." In those days there were no policemen and in times of disturbance it was "run down to the watch-house and get a constable," in the day-time, and in the night "call one of the watchmen off the street." They used to walk in pairs, wearing big leather fire hats with "City Watchman" painted on the fore-piece, and carried big canes or dog-killers and dark lanterns. Capt. Sam Fursman was the man who filled the position of what is now called chief of police.

On the first floor, approached by high wooden steps, down which more than one butcher, beef and all, came tumbling, were the meat stalls or market proper, where nearly all of the leading butchers had a stand. Overhead in the second story at the east end was the Common Council chamber, a rather commodious, high-ceiling room, in which presided as Mayor Hiram Pratt, then serving his first term of one year. In those days¹ mayors were elected for a year only. Theodotus Burwell was the City Attorney, T. C. Peters, City Clerk, and Oliver G. Steele, Superintendent of Common Schools. Several of the city officials had offices in the building, and in the north end was subsequently the

1. 1838-'9.

city library. Rising from the center roof was a large square white tower like a cupola, on the top of which was placed during this year of Patriot troubles an alarm bell of silver tone, which rang out its peals of alarm one cold moonlight night and set in motion that mass of floodwood militia that had been called in from the surrounding towns and lay buried up under piles of hay and straw in the big blue "B. Rathbun Warehouse" on the Ship Canal Slip east of Erie street. Owing to mysterious movements of the British across the river, and the fact that the Patriots had taken possession of Navy Island, our military authorities, professing to believe that there was a probability of invasion, had summoned these men without providing for their proper quartering as they arrived in squads, companies and battalions, many without arms.

Hardly had the work of organization begun before the sound of distant cannonading started the rumor that the British were crossing. Then began that weird-like march down Niagara street. Men wrapped up in bed-blankets, horse blankets of all colors, quilts, buffalo robes and green baize by the yard, kept step to the tap of the heavy bass drum; the plaintive pealing of the solitary bell and distant booming of cannon made a night of scenes and sounds not easily forgotten by many yet living who passed through that eventful night. After arriving at Black Rock our militia found it to be a false alarm, caused by the British shelling the woods of Navy Island and the crossing of the Patriots to this side where they disbanded.

The open space around the market building was assigned to farmers' wagons, fish carts, poultry coops, Indian ponies, potato wagons, German cabbage carts, etc.

Finding ourselves at the corner of the Terrace and Main street we sniff the savory odor of roast clams, broiled

chicken, Welsh rarebits, etc., issuing from over the top of the lowered sash of the basement recess with wide descending steps that led you down into a room with a bar in front. Along the north side of the wall was a row of box stalls with blind doors, with a bench-like table and cushioned benches, roomy enough for four, and in a rush, or for a private party, six could squeeze in and be served at short notice with cooked-to-order dishes. There was the beginning of what for the next three decades flourished under the name of "Terrapin Lunch," a recess (so-called in those days), saloon and restaurant later, and finally Terrapin Dining-rooms. From the shores of the Kennebec to the Pacific has the name of this old feedery become famous, especially so with many an old soldier, for there was where they took their last social meal with some departed friend before going to the front.

BOAT-BUILDING ON THE CONJOCKETY.

Few of the old-time Buffalo boys who were wont to wander down Niagara street to lower Black Rock for a stroll and fish along the banks of the Scajaquada creek up to its crossing with Main street, above Cold Spring, can scarcely recognize the once rushing, wide-awake stream in the dammed sleepy waters of the miniature lake at the Park.

The fishing in those days in the old creek was remarkable for the uniformity of size of the perch that ran up from Black Rock harbor and were found in the deep holes along the banks of the creek. Being ready biters at the worm, a two-foot twig was often filled with fish in a short time.

In those days of few refrigerators many an "early catch" found an appreciative buyer (at one shilling a twig

of a dozen fat, crimson-fin perch), among the residents of upper Main, Pearl, Franklin and Delaware streets.

Here on the banks of this unpretentious little stream was fought the battle of Black Rock on and near the bridge at its mouth, where it emptied into Niagara river. Out of the ravine to the east, through which flowed the crystal waters, emerged, just before the battle, that famous surprise party—Capt. Jack Richardson's Cayuga-county riflemen, which gave the name erroneously as "Morgan's riflemen," to the hastily summoned crowd of militia with muskets and shot-guns.

These men from Auburn and Aurelius with their left-over tactics of '76 did the effective work of the day and caused the helter-skelter tumbling backwards into the British boats and a suspension of further efforts to making a landing for some time after.

Here on the banks of this then called Conjockey creek a part of Commodore Perry's fleet was fitted out under the superintendence of Henry Eckford, afterwards renowned at home and abroad as a naval constructor.

Here also in 1818 was built the first steamboat to sail the upper lakes, a low-pressure, 338-ton vessel, which was wrecked Nov. 1, 1821, near the foot of Michigan street.

The old shipyard soon after became one of the noted ship-building centers of the West, producing much of the shipping of the lakes, and, later, many of the primitive boats of the Erie Canal.

In 1825 two more steamboats were built, the Pioneer, high-pressure, 120 tons, and the Henry Clay, low-pressure, 300 tons. In 1826 was built the Niagara. In 1833 began the era of experimental steamboat building from original designs by amateur steamboat men, the accommodating proprietors of the yard simply suggesting "we've got the

yard and you've got the money; we'll build anything you order. Let's go ahead and have no two boats alike."

In this year they brought out the Daniel Webster, a low-pressure 358-ton vessel with the loftiest gallows frame ever before or since seen on a boat of her size. At the same time they built the far-famed nondescript called the New-York, a sight to behold and a noise to be heard. Think of a vessel of only 325 tons with two fully-developed high-pressure engines; two "regular snorters" of puff-pipes and four big black smoke-stacks; two fore and aft masts; two men and a relief man at the tiller; each engine and one wheel acting independently, the whole combination sailing away to the tune of "Swiftly Glides the Bonnie Boat," with the running gait of a clipped-wing chicken.

These two models of naval construction never had their record for speed broken except by the Charles Townsend, another low-pressure, 312-ton experimental failure, built at Buffalo in 1835, with her very wide, short, dumpy, gallows frame and three-abreast red smoke-stacks, with most excruciating appearance; and the United States (iron) revenue cutter Dallas, 370 tons, Capt. Ottinger commanding, built by the Government at Buffalo in 1846.

These two last-named vessels have been known with wind astern in still waters to make their four miles an hour!

After a checkered career of less than a decade the New-York and Daniel Webster were partially dismantled and towed down to Black Rock harbor and moored off Squaw Island near natal waters to spend their last days. During the decade between 1845-55, the village of Black Rock, with its long line of dilapidated stores and dwellings crowned with the old Breckenridge-church steeple and an occasional tall poplar high up along the banks, and the weather-beaten warehouses along shore, together with the score of played-

out steamboats owned at this end of the lake that had been towed down to rot in the waters of this immense marine boneyard, presented from the decks of passing river-boats, a most picturesque and decidedly antiquated appearance.

In continuation of the record of Black Rock-built steamers, was another boat for 1833, the very trim sailor Gov. Marcy, 161 tons, low-pressure engine. The Gen. Porter was added in 1834, low-pressure, 352 tons, very comely and fair of speed. In 1837, the keel of the last of the large boats to be built at this yard was laid, the very creditable and long-lived steamer New-England, low-pressure, 416 tons.

About these times the shipyard of Bidwell & Banta at Buffalo, having begun to reach mammoth proportions, the business at the old yard began to wane, and, with the exception of the Waterloo for the Niagara Falls route, a low-pressure boat of 98 tons in 1840; the little pleasure-steamer George W. Clinton, 19 tons, in 1842; and the Black Rock ferry-boat Union, high-pressure, 64 tons, in 1843, steamboat building ended at Conjockey Creek.

THE REAL SHIPS OF THE LAKES.

It may be news to many of the lakers of today, but nevertheless it is a fact, that but two full-rigged ships from "stem to stern" ever sailed the waters of the great lakes above Niagara Falls.

There have been barques, three-masted vessels, square rigged in part, that were often mistaken for ships. But the first and nearest approach to a ship on these waters was the "big ship" of the British fleet at the Battle of Lake Erie, a 250-ton barque, called the Detroit, a very conspicuous object in the maneuvers of the British fleet.

This vessel along in the '40s was sold at Erie as condemned material and fell into the hands of a company who put aboard of her a bear, deer, wild cat, and other animals and towed her down the Chippewa to be sent over the falls, a drawing card for thousands who "went down to see." The old craft lodged above in the rapids and failed to go over until she broke up.¹

The first ship of the fresh water seas was built at Buffalo in 1836 by Col. Alanson Palmer on a *carte blanche* order to build a 300-ton ship and make her as beautiful as money could do it and keep the name a secret, which was done until he broke a bottle of champagne over the bow with, "Ladies and gentlemen, I propose to call the gallant craft after my beloved wife, Julia Palmer," amid the booming of a cannon and the ringing of a score of steamboat bells along the docks.

And beautiful she was, the pride of old harbor-men as she used to round the light house pier with "Old Glory" in immense folds floating out behind her gaff with Julia's figurehead-bust gorgeously set in scrolls and cornucopia work on the bow.

The next was the ship Milwaukie of 400 tons, built at White Haven in 1837 and calculated more for service than for show.

These two ships after a couple of seasons were found not to pay, requiring too big crews for the amount of tonnage covered, and that the agile "fore and afters" were taking the wind out of all other kind of sailing craft even to the displacement of quite a fleet of brigs that had been put in commission. The subsequent steamers Julia Palmer

1. The attempt to send the *Detroit* over Niagara Falls was on Sept. 15, 1841. See Publications, Buf. Hist. Soc'y, Vol. VIII, pp. 402-3, where the facts are given.

and Milwaukie were remodellings of these ships and wore themselves out at a profit to their owners.¹

In the person of Alanson Palmer in his prime, Buffalo had a man that was leaven in almost any enterprise that he became interested in. Like A. T. Stewart he had a *penchant* for an assortment most novel in his holdings from the patent of the first successful cracker machine to a Point Abino wind mill. In the County Clerk's office the records show him to have been for a brief period the owner of the old American Hotel property, the finest of the period at that time in Western New York. He also had a second-hand church (the old Baptist) that he was concerned in the remodelling over into the high-stoop old postoffice building across the front of which appeared that big gilt sign, "O. H. Dibble, Post Office." He was a man of commanding presence and under the folds of a long, heavy black broadcloth cloak as he passed by throwing to his right and the left his pleasant "good morning" or "good evening, sir," made his mark. He preferred to walk and talk in place of hide and ride in his gilded coach to and from his castelated mansion on Tupper near Main street. Perhaps for a decade or more, the name of the Buffalonian most frequently down on subscription papers for sums to make most pleasant reading, was that of Alanson Palmer.

HIRAM CHAMBERS, SCHOOLMASTER.

There are a few old-time residents who can stand in front of the City Hall and look diagonally across to the Eagle-street corner, bringing to view the familiar outlines of the fine cut-stone front and classical pediment of the old Unitarian Church (now the Austin building, No. 110

1. Capt. E. P. Dorr, in his "History of Our Lake Commerce," says that the *Superior* was a ship, "altered from a steamer."

Franklin street), in the basement of which along in the late '30's and early '40's was a door adjoining the Sunday school room on the Eagle street side, on which was a little black tin sign bearing in lettered gilt the legend "Hiram Chambers, Select School."

Over the threshold of the aforesaid door passed, to take their seats in the spacious square room, some forty or more girls and boys of Niagara Square and adjacent streets. The girls when seated at their desks, faced the west wall, the boys the east wall, and the primary "kids" the north wall, the whole forming a hollow square in the center of which, in a revolving-seated arm-chair, sat (when not tipping around with cat-like tread in white stockings and morocco pumps, with a six-foot rattan in hand) the presiding genius.

Our most worthy tutor, the originator and sole manipulator of this institution, was a conspicuous figure on the street as he passed by with his ruffled shirt-bosom, Roman nose, rosy cheeks and laughing eyes, tapping the bricks with his ivory-headed Perry's Flagship timber-relic cane, presenting a most genteel walking "ad" for his profession, very taking, especially with prospective applicants for tuition.

At recess (a liberal twenty minutes) the boys betook themselves to the old burying-ground across the way, that occupied the whole block, now City Hall site, with the exception of the Franklin-street side which was built upon. Here with the standing admonition, "Don't play tag among the grave stones, nor run upon the walls" (substantially built of brick with broad stone copings), the use of the grounds for open-air recreation was tolerated.

Over on the west side, under an immense forest tree left standing by the early axmen, near the Delaware-street side,

was a long table-like tombstone which the embryo orators improvised as a rostrum, and were wont to declaim therefrom their "spreadeagleisms," and eulogies on our martyred heroes, one of whom lay beneath the marble slab that bore the following inscription:

"Here lies the body of *Major* WILLIAM HOWE
CUYLER of Palmyra, N. Y., who was killed at Black
Rock by a cannon ball from the enemy on the night of
August 10th, 1812."

This was followed to a conclusion by many lines of eulogistic chiseling.

During the general disinterment of human remains in this cemetery along in the '50's this stone, and the remains of Major Cuyler, were taken to Palmyra, to rest with kindred dust after over thirty years of veneration among strangers.

Major Cuyler was principal aide to Major General Amos Hall, and was riding along the beach at full speed, carrying a lantern, engaged in procuring relief for the wounded, when he was struck by a round shot and instantly killed.¹

1. There are numerous accounts, some of them by eye-witnesses, of the death of this popular young officer. Gen. Asa Warren, whose reminiscences are printed in volume V of these Publications, says: "I saw [on the New York shore opposite the British batteries] . . . Major William Howe Cuyler, aide to Maj. Gen. Hall, commanding officer at Buffalo. At the sound of the firing he had mounted his horse and rode down the river with a lighted lantern in his hand, as I was told, and when in range of their guns was shot through the body, and his wrist was broken by grape shot. Thus fell the accomplished gentleman, the brave and valiant officer." A despatch dated "Canandaigua, Oct. 13, [1812]," giving details of the affair, said: "Among the killed, we lament to number Major Cuyler. . . . He was approaching the beach on horseback when a grape shot, from the British battery, cut off his hand, entered his abdomen and came out near the backbone. He instantly fell." Lossing states ("Field Book of the War of 1812") that "his body was carried by Capt. Benjamin Bidwell and others to the house of Nathaniel Sill." Among the many tributes to his memory, printed at the time, the following, reminiscent of Gray's "Elegy," appeared in the *War*, a newspaper published in New York by Samuel Woodworth (author of "The Old Oaken Bucket"), Nov. 21, 1812. It is here

He was buried with public honors, an oration being delivered by J. E. Chaplin, Esq. The affair seems to have created a deep impression upon the community, the *Buffalo Gazette* printing a part of Mr. Chaplin's oration.

The girls for their airing took a more conspicuous but ever pleasant spot, the high front stone steps of the church, with their elaborate and highly ornamental iron railings flanked with filigree lamp posts. Here, after school, for a quarter of an hour, both sexes would circle around that little queen, Miss Julia Dean, who lived around the corner (her father the then manager of the old Eagle-street Theater), and Mary Monteath, another magnet. Now Mary had a pack of cards, and the whole school used to go

printed because it is the only poem known to have been inspired by the old Franklin Square burial ground. Mr. Mathews' narrative shows that, at a later date, his grave was marked with an inscribed stone:

TO THE MEMORY OF MAJ. CUYLER.

Born in the reach of splendor, pomp and power,
He spurned at honors unattained by worth,
And fostering freedom, in a glorious hour,
Preferred her cause to all the pride of birth.

In Freedom's virtuous cause alert he rose,
In Freedom's virtuous cause undaunted bled.
He died for Freedom 'mid a host of foes,
And found on Erie's beach an honor'd bed.

But where, Oh! where the hallow'd sod,
Beneath whose verd the hero's ashes sleep?
Is this the cold, neglected, mouldering clod,
Or that the grave at which I ought to weep?

Why rises not some massy pillar high
To grace a name that fought for Freedom's prize?
Or why, at least, some rudely etch'd stone nigh,
To show the spot where matchless valor lies?

Yet soldier, thy illustrious name is known,
Thy fame supported and thy worth confess'd,
That peerless virtue, which in danger shone,
Is shining still, when thou art laid in rest.

And, though no monumental scrip is seen,
Thy deeds to publish and thy worth proclaim,
Each son of FREEDOM, passing near this green,
Shall hail brave CUYLER, and revere his name.

D. B. V.

to them who alternately shuffled and dealt out fate to a most attentive and admiring circle.¹

It is not within the memory of the writer whether it was foretold that Julia herself would become one of the leading ladies of the American stage, and Mary, one of the leading ladies in society and philanthropic work. Nor that of the boys, Millard Powers Fillmore would live to be the son of a President of the United States; that "Al" Bigelow would be an artist, poet and preacher; that "Steve" Caldwell would be one of the leading spirits among railroad and lake men, and autocrat of a vast commercial territory, assisted by his brother Seth; that "Hank" Faxon of the Faxon boys (Len and Charley) would be locally famous as editor and publisher; that "Fred," "Ed" and "Bill" of the Mayhew brothers, and the Burt boys were to be dealers-out of money by the millions; that "Al," of the Sprague boys would shortly die a sudden death, and later George

1. It may be permissible to recall here something of that loved and lovely personality, Julia Dean, the most famous actress that Buffalo can claim as her own. She was born in 1830 in Dutchess Co., at the home of her grandfather, Samuel Drake, who reared her until she was ten. In 1840 she came to Buffalo to live with her stepfather, Edwin Dean, senior member of the firm of Dean & McKinney, managers of the Eagle street theater. Here she spent her school days, of which Mr. Mathews writes; and here she began her stage career, her first appearance being on short notice, to fill the place of an actress who was unable to appear. In 1846, being then but 16 years old, she made her New York debut at the old Bowery Theatre. For nearly a decade she played with great success. In March, 1855, she married Dr. Hayne of Charleston, S. C., son of Robert Y. Hayne. She continued to act, after her marriage, but her popularity waned. The marriage was unhappy, and a few years later she procured a divorce. Later, in New York, she married James G. Cooper. If one may judge from her portrait, and from what was said of her, more than sixty years ago, she was versatile and intelligent, and possessed of charm, rather than beauty. During one Buffalo engagement, in the fall of 1847, she played, among other parts, that of *Bianca*, in "Fazio, or the Italian Wife," *Margaret Elmore* in "Love's Sacrifice," *Mrs. Haller* in "The Stranger," *Lucretia* in "Lucretia Borgia," *Ion* in the classical tragedy of that name, and others, some of them in plays long forgotten. The local press, perhaps not discriminating in its criticism of an obvious favorite, was wont to call her "ardent," "impulsive," "dashing," and the like. A rôle in which she won high praise, at a later period, when her powers were more matured, was *Julia* in "The Hunchback." She appeared in that character with William J. Florence as *Lord Tinsel*, in a notable New York engagement in 1852.



JULIA DEAN.

BORN 1830, DIED 1868. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH IN THE POSSESSION OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, TAKEN IN SAN FRANCISCO ABOUT 1865.

would be found dead on Grand Island from the careless handling of his gun; that the Thayer boys, Sage brothers and others were to leave their bright marks in the army and navy, and various other walks of life.

Almost contemporary with Mr. Chambers, was P. G. Cook, fondly known to a passing generation as Chaplain Cook, who was successfully conducting a select school in the then lately abandoned Benjamin Rathbun bank building on Eagle street near Main.

Along in the '40's the Public School system of the State having been reorganized and commodious school houses built for each district, and a higher grade of teachers employed in the larger towns, the select schools, of which there were several in Buffalo, seemed to fall into disfavor, many of the oldtime tutors becoming public-school teachers and the scholars becoming attendants thereof.

After the erection of the colonnaded-front school house No. 8 on Church street, with Professor Brown as principal, the disbandment of Chambers' and other select schools in the vicinity took place and later we find our respected old tutor installed as principal in the new and handsome Vine-street schoolhouse, where after years of service he retired, to again hang out his sign in the lower part of the city, this time as "Doctor Hiram Chambers."

"ONE-LEGGED HARRISON."

In the old village and young city days of Buffalo, a lost child meant to the parents a season of dread uncertainty and a heart full of misgivings which were in most cases protracted owing to the custom of taking in and caring for the waif until the appearance of the "town crier," who, at that time was a colored man by the name of James, or, "One-legged Harrison," he having lost his right leg close

up to the body. This man, with his crutch, was conceded to be one of the best all-round athletes (in his way) and certainly the best horseback rider in town, and were he around with his feats of agility in these days, would have attracted the attention of Buffalo Bill and be one of the leading attractions.

How many of the then "little tots" now living can remember when in their little beds as "snug as bugs," they were awakened from a sound sleep in the stillness of the night by the ringing of an old tavern hand-bell at the corners below, followed by the low melodious crooning of some plantation melody and a general raising of window-sash in the houses around, to hear the "announcement" which soon came from a pair of stentorian lungs, like unto this:

"Oh, yes! Oh, yes!! I have lost a little girl—three years old—with a yaller calicer dress—blue-check apron—pink sun-bonnet—red stockings and blue morocco shoes—whoever will deliver her to me shall—be—well—rewarded."

Starting up his horse on a gallop with a "go-link, go-link, go-link," of his bell that kept time with the fall of the hoof, he rode to the next corner, when there was a repetition and so on along until the lost lamb was restored to the fold.

"How in Sam Hill he manages to ride that hoss, all cluttered up in that way, I can't see," said Maj. Berry, the old tax collector, one night, as Harrison reined up his horse to the curb in front of Hargreave Lee's old store opposite the Kremlin Block, and delivered to an almost distracted family who lived overhead, one little boy, one little dog and one little drum, which together with crutch, bell and reins, on a one-stirrup saddle, accompanied old Harrison on his nag—and he was master of the situation.

He was the best singer in the old Vine-street (colored) Methodist Church, where he wooed and won his wife, a

three-quarter white frail little body. It was at his house near the canal where E. P. Christy and his boy George went occasionally to spend an evening in music and "down South talk," while they were preparing to make their debut in the minstrelsy business. Here also some of the members of the Empire Minstrels, an organization of home talent, consisting of some of our best young men, made studies from life for the purpose of going out to nearby cities for a little fun, but by good business management and high appreciation from unexpected quarters, were induced to make the tour of the principal cities of the United States—the pioneer negro minstrel company.

As an auctioneer on wheels Harrison was pre-eminent. Scorning a sitting posture his upright figure on crutch and one leg was a familiar sight as he drove around from place to place, receiving bids on the decrepit vehicles and "little off" horse-flesh, that was almost daily put in his hands to make the best of.

As a swimmer, he would have been entitled to "take the cake." One feat with one foot in treading water was when, in cuffing his wife's ears, she backed away from him and tumbled into the canal. He followed and rescued her, holding her head above water until help was at hand.

Planting his crutch on a bar-room floor he could describe a half circle of one foot over the stove-pipe hat of the tallest man in the room, and come down standing right side up (with care for the hat), to the great amazement of all, and liberal contributions of "shad scales" from the spectators.

One afternoon in May a party of gentlemen were taking it easy in the big arm chairs under the trees in front of the office of Stevenson Brothers' big yellow wooden livery stable on Pearl street in the rear of the old American Hotel, when Lieut. Hamilton of the regulars stationed at Poinsett Bar-

racks, called out to Jimmy to have that new horse saddled and he would ride out to Black Rock and see if the animal would pass inspection. After mounting with the remark, "Too many oats," the war dance began with a sawing on the bits, a bracing up in the stirrups and a general flying of heels and dirt in the air, necessitating a changing of this son of Mars' usual infantry tactics to cavalry maneuvers of high degree.

One of the proprietors, fearing a disaster, rushed up and seizing the bridle bade him to "come down and try another," supplementing the remark with, "We will have to turn him over to One-legged Harrison," who happened to be standing across the street grinning at the free circus.

Hamilton obeyed the order, and came down and out of the stirrups with alacrity. His Southern blood was fired, and sidling toward John in chanticleer fashion, demanded to know what he meant by his "insinuation, sah!"

Now, John "didn't mean anything" by his good-natured slip, but he should have borne in mind that it was part of a West Pointer's education to keep on deck of the most sprightly equine "high kicker," under all circumstances. Quite a crowd collected to "hear 'em argy." It was moved by John L. Talcott, and seconded by Eli Cook that the matter be referred to Landlord Hodges, whereupon the party went over through the back way to the American, to "see about it." There the affair was satisfactorily settled according to the old Kentucky code (old rye and lemon peel) without anybody being shot, even in the neck.

In later years Harrison became morose, and lost control of his temper. His hearty ringing guffaw was no longer heard on the streets, and the children knew him no more. "Copper John," the faithful old sentinel over the castellated walls in Auburn took him under his watchful eye where he

could enjoy the ministrations of a fellow townsman, the Rev. P. G. Cook, former principal of Cook's Academy, who had lately graduated from the Theological Seminary and received the appointment of Prison Chaplain.

"OLD BEALS."

An old-time "Jack-of-all-trades," master of the professions, manipulator of cats' paws, a power behind the throne of local squatter sovereignty and a thorn to the easy-going portion of the early business community was "Old Beals."

He came to Buffalo from Ithaca, N. Y., via Cayuga Lake and the Erie canal in the early '40's, as owner and captain of a condemned laker bought of the old-time firm of Morgans, merchants and grain shippers, at Aurora, Cayuga Co.; with the understanding that it was to be paid for in thirty days after its arrival at Buffalo. The boat never reached its place of destination, but was mysteriously sunk at Black Rock after its cargo had been disposed of, and the proceeds snug in the big calf-skin wallet of Mr. Beals.

These were the days when the word of most business men was considered as good as their bond, especially of a younger man to a confiding old gentleman who didn't want to bother mending a troublesome old goose-quill.

Prior to the middle '40's the only railroad tracks that led into Buffalo were the Buffalo and Black Rock horse railway $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and the Buffalo and Niagara Falls Railroad, 22 miles. The bucking facilities of the lake steamers (excepting the old United States, Capt. Whitiker, with a record of having during her career made the port of Buffalo in every month of the year), were inadequate for raising the occasional ice-blockades of the harbor, caused by protracted southwest winds packing the ice around the harbor and delaying navigation in the lower end of the

lake, many days after the opening of canal navigation, and the flow of travel from the East began pouring into Buffalo, causing the inevitable overflow of hotels, big corners in the provision markets, and jam of canal boats awaiting the arrival of in-bound lake freight.

It was during one of these seasons that Beals, having a month before heard that the ice in the bay was piled mountains high, indicating a late opening, left Ithaca on his late purchase on a calling tour at the various landings on Cayuga Lake, and soon after arrival at Cayuga Bridge with an assorted cargo of Tompkins-county russets, dried apples on the string and left-over odds and ends from the farmers' cellars. Hastily constructing a lot of coops which he filled with live poultry from the village for a deck load, and snapping on to a tow-line, he was soon on his way to the promised land.

Arriving at Black Rock Dam, his craft was boarded by "Bill" Baldy, "Hop" Young and "Spectacled" Keyes, three eminent steamboat solicitors of that day celebrated for their jolly vociferousness and buttonhole tenacity, who were prospecting for late arrivals of freight and passengers.

Baldy at once saw that here was "a chance for a speck," and forthwith with Hop and Keyes, formed a syndicate backed by "Gus" Tiffany, who personally conducted the sales in job lots to be loaded into the wagons of eager market-men and provision dealers of Buffalo.

Surprised beyond compare at the sudden dropping of his boat to the bottom of the canal the night after unloading, Beals the following morning proceeded on foot up the tow-path to finish a trip that was to add another to the list of enterprising men of Buffalo.

While passing Sandy Town he observed in a cove formed on the flats at the east side of the canal near the foot of

Court street a fleet of condemned pioneer canal boats. In forty-eight hours he was in possession of seven boats, two of them noted as being part of the flotilla that went out to meet Governor Clinton on the opening of the Erie Canal. With these and a lease of two acres of land surrounding, and subsequent additions of old craft, hauled ashore and blocked up, he founded the suburban attraction known as Bealsville, which was soon tenanted by a class of laborers who much preferred these lodgings to the squatter board shanties of Sandy Town.

His first introduction to our business men was a personal call offering twenty cents for smooth Spanish quarters taken for sixteen cents. By a heating process he restored to view the obliterated impression and realized the full value—twenty-five cents. He also cashed doubtful notes and accounts with which he had a very unpleasant way of pressing collection. Near the canal cut, off Washington street, he erected a high board fence around a dilapidated warehouse, and building up lean-to sheds he opened up a second-hand lumber yard and sort of museum and sales rooms for old doors, sash, blinds, mantels and the like from dismantled buildings falling under the march of improvement. As a speculator in damaged edibles and other calamity holdings he knew just when and where to strike.

Old-timers of the '40's will remember seeing and smelling on the corner of North Division street, opposite "the churches," the smoke and fumes of roasting peas and divers cereals, rolling out from the doors and windows of an establishment on which was the sign, "T. Foster, pure ground coffee and spice mills." One day a canal boat loaded mostly with coffee and sugars consigned to A. D. A. Miller and Geo. B. Walbridge, collided with a stone boat and sunk off the shore of the "Five Points." Beals bought

the coffee and in a few days the air in the neighborhood of his establishment rivaled Foster's in fragrance, it being the aroma from genuine Rio, Java and Maracaibo, which was being roasted, ground, and packed in half-pound packages and labeled "Buffalo Pure Ground Coffee," to be sold in Cleveland.

The last trip down the lake for boats to lay up for the winter often brought mutton carcasses, dressed hogs, Ohio walnuts, etc. The propeller Princeton, after being storm-bound at Fairport during a warm, muggy spell in early December, arrived with 250 dressed hogs that presented a sorry sight with their flesh of greenish hue, and fast acquiring an oriental fragrance. Fifteen minutes after the boat tied up Beals had the lot at one dollar a hog, and fifteen minutes later took one hundred dollars for his bargain from a lard-oil refiner whom he had forestalled.

During the summer months many a full cream Hamburg cheese in handling for shipment would be found cracked, with skippers threatening to skip out with the internal arrangements. These Beals would buy and break up into butter firkins, stirring in rectified corn whiskey (then bought at sixteen cents a gallon by the barrel) and allowed to ferment and settle down to come out a prime article of old brandy cheese, commanding good prices in the New York market.

He was a surprise party on more than one occasion to persons with houses built with windows on the line and liable to be darkened by building against. Dumping a load or two of lumber in front of adjoining premises he had rented, preliminary to erecting a shed-like structure, negotiations would be at once opened for "buying him off."

As a curb-stone broker he was much sought after for small loans on "jack-knife and bull's-eye" collateral, even

to the taking of chattel mortgages on false teeth on gold plates; one loan of twenty dollars on a full set causing him much grief by the burning of the ill-fated steamboat Erie off Silver Creek, August 9, 1841, by which awful calamity nearly 300 lives were lost—and the teeth!

On the memorable night of October 18, 1844, after a series of southeast gales lasting a week which had lowered the water in the harbor over two feet and laid bare the beach further out than the oldest inhabitant could remember, the wind, just before twelve, suddenly changed into the northwest, blowing a hurricane, changing a balmy moonlight night into a dark aerial pandemonium. Without a moment's warning a wall of water like a huge tidal wave came down the lake and entered the harbor by leaping over the pier and across the island, lifting the shipping bodily from their moorings and banging them against the docks and warehouses amid fearful howlings and crashings. On went the tide until canal, streets, lumber yards, and nearly everything on the flats east, south, and west of the city were under one body of water.

Most remarkable were the changes of base that appeared after the waters had receded. Boats that had no buildings to keep them within bounds "got up and left across lots." The steamboat Columbus, a 600-tonner, lay high and dry in Ohio street, near Wilson's coal yard. The steamer Chautauqua was caught by the big wave ten miles out and set down, right side up, in Sandy Town in among the brush heaps and sand hills. Bealsville had gone off, and on its site were spread out the scattered cargoes of two lumber-laden schooners. That ended the utilization of canal boats for residential purposes, so far as Beals was concerned. He soon sickened, closed up his affairs, and died, 1850.

SOME BUFFALO BELLS.

There are bells in Buffalo that, for the historic interest they possess, and others for their rich mellowness of tone, are worth their weight in gold. Go and ascertain the taking price of that venerable little 1,000-pounder that hangs in the minor tower of the Church-street side of St. Paul's. This bell that so long tolled forth from the belfry of the four-pinnacled tower of the quaint little blue church of St. Paul's on the spot called "The Churches," was the first church bell that tolled the hour of worship to the old-time Buffalonians; and in deference to the wishes of the late Rev. Dr. William Shelton of much revered memory, who filled a rectorship of over a half-century in St. Paul's parish, the old bell, after it was decided to have chimes in the main tower, was retained that he might hear its old familiar tone as it rang out from the smaller belfry as the "Sunday-school bell."¹

Before the beginning of the War of 1812 and the subsequent burning of Buffalo by the British, the village had no church building, and according to this story, as related by Mrs. St. John to the writer, "Buffalo never had a church nor a bell. The men folks were all too busy to think of religion, and us women folks all went to meetin' in the old Court-house."

Prior to the early '20's, and during the first decade of rebuilding the burned village, several religious societies were organized and held services in the spacious new Court-house, erected in 1816, the old bell of which, now in possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, was virtually the primitive "Sabbath bell" of Buffalo. After the erection of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in 1819, the first of the churches

1. In recent years it has been rung for communion on Thursdays and Holy Days.

to be finished with a steeple, a subscription paper for a bell was started one morning along the docks and up Main street. Before night the paper, headed with "John Lay, \$5.00," and ended with a \$10 bill from the big calfskin wallet of that most Catholic of French Catholics, Louis Le Couteulx, insured to the Episcopalians the first church bell of Buffalo.

Subsequently and in part contemporary with St. Paul's, two miles away to the north, in the belfry of the Breckenridge-street Presbyterian Church, in the rival village of Black Rock, hung a 500-pound bell that has for over 60 years called the people to worship. Among whom, along in the '50's, might occasionally have been seen, book in hand, wending his way along with his "Auntie Allen" to church, a then unthought of, but later much talked of, President of the United States.

This bell, by virtue of annexation, became brevet senior church bell of Buffalo.

To the sad ending of the career of this Buffalo bell, there hangs a tale. After the sale of the old church property in 1890, preparatory to building on a new site, the bell was stored in an out-house on the premises of the Hon. Lewis F. Allen. One night, after Mr. Allen's death, thieves broke in and stole the bell, which, although search was made, has never been found.¹

The second bell to entrench itself in the affections of the Buffalo villagers was the "town-clock bell," a 2,500-pounder of clear sonorous tone that tolled off the hours, and rang out the "7," "12" and "9-o'clock bell" from the tower of the elegant brick First Presbyterian Church edifice that had just been completed (1827), and thereafter stood with the stately mien of a grandfather's clock for two decades along-

1. Nor is its whereabouts known to this day.

side the "little blue church," and afterwards the new St. Paul's until the '90's.

One Fourth of July in the early '40's, Sexton John Newland and assistant, in dancing around the vestibule with a big rope in their hands while ringing the sweet jubilee bell, developed a fracture, which, after much boring, sawing and filing, resulted only in producing hoarser and more disagreeable tones, necessitating the removal of the bell for re-casting. Its successor proved to be nearly of the same tone as the original and faithfully performed its duty until the removal uptown to more sumptuous and retired quarters.

The third and last to make its debut as a "village bell," was an 1,800-pounder introduced by the Universalists in the early '30's for their big wooden church around the corner on Washington between South Division and Swan streets. This bell was the firemen's favorite and was called by them "the rattler." In the '60's, after a removal to the new brick Church of the Messiah, on Main, above Huron street, the church-bell and all were destroyed by fire.

Along in the middle '30's, Buffalo having become a city, the Baptists, after leaving their pretty little white-spined bell-less church on the corner of Washington and Seneca streets for the new "big brick" on Washington, above Swan street, introduced a 2,600-pounder, the first of the "city bells." After being duly installed in the huge, square, flat-top, unsightly belfry for about a year, Old Boreas in a big blowout one night gave vent to his distaste for the big two-story box steeple, by giving it a series of twists that necessitated a "coming down and out" for remodeling. After a delay of two or more years, the bell was replaced under cover of a more church-like looking steeple, where within a year it revealed a cracked voice. After a re-cast, the new

bell was placed in position for elevation and when about half way up suddenly became the principal actor in a grand "stand from under" matinee, cutting its way "clean down to the sullen bottom," 'as the old sexton expressed it, "right side up with care" and no bones broken. Another trial was more successful, and for a series of years this bell, with that of the Universalist, St. Paul's and the old First Church, all near each other, furnished all the bell-ringing within the radius of a mile that was necessary.

In 1842, the first Lutheran bell of Buffalo, a 1,400-pounder, was put in the big square tight-blind belfry of the First Lutheran Church (of good old Pastor Guenther's memory) that had been erected away over on Hickory street, five years before. This bell was rung in the style of the "Fatherland," but as it was "sound-smothered," and so far away, never became a disturbing factor.

Along in the summer evenings of 1845 the melodious sound of a vesper bell came stealing over the plain from the belfry of a long, low, one-story brick church building, from where now rise the walls and spires of the cathedral-like edifice of St. Mary's German Catholic Church on Broadway and Pine street. This was the first Catholic bell of Buffalo, and was a pleasing innovation to many, as its early-morning calls were in tones that turned many a morning nap into a dream-like slumber. In 1846 was placed on one of the rear, unfinished brick towers of St. Louis' German and French Catholic Church on Main street, a 3,000-pound "slumber-breaker," that soon created a difference of opinion as to the merits of early-morning bell-ringing.

The second Catholic bell, the early-morning "slumber-breaker" of St. Louis' Church, after a clamorous career of four decades, was destroyed by fire at the burning of the church during the '80's.

Many of the old-time residents of Buffalo during the decade between '40 and '50, can easily recall to mind a big wooden sign-board that for years extended from building to curb, in front of a three-story brick, adjoining the Buffalo Engine Works on Ohio street, bearing the legend, "Adam Good, Brass and Bell Founder," the reading of which by the young irrepressibles who chanced to pass by was often with a vigorous, loud-toned, hyphenized Adam, which was not at all aggravating to Adam, for he knew that it was fast becoming a profitable trade-mark in the manufacture of honest tin and copper bell metal for bells of lightweight, for which he was becoming celebrated. In 1846, during the building of the new North Presbyterian Church on Main street, local pride and a desire to patronize home industry prompted Jason Sexton, of the building committee, to tender to Mr. Good the contract for a 3,000-pounder. Now, Adam's reputation lay mostly in his 1,000-pound church bells, for which he had many orders and ran as a specialty. Not having the facilities for these big jobs, he declined, but after much persuasion he concluded to try his hand. After three trials, the results not proving of satisfactory tone to himself, he sent the order to Medway, Mass., which was duly filled with a bell of deep, heavy tone, which was known thereafter as the "growler."

Sunday "stop-overs" in some of our older Western towns are often struck with the peculiar mellow sound of a church bell. Should they take the pains to visit the belfry, they would find a 1,000-pounder bearing an old-time Buffalo birth-mark, and other indisputable evidence of the handiwork of "Adam Good, Brass and Bell Founder."

NEW YEAR'S IN THE '40'S.

"Lower the goosenecks," was the order that passed along the long line of horse stalls to the floor above, where had

been summered most everything on runners from the brilliant colored swell-bodied single gooseneck cutter, the big two-horse pleasure sleigh with elevated driver's seat, flanked by a pair of graceful golden wings that hugged the sides, with tips nearly astern of the craft, piled in with a wealth of big buffalo, wolf and bearskin robes, to the gorgeous four- or six-in-hand gondola-like turn-out in the big yellow livery stable of Stevenson Brothers on Pearl street, the night before New Year's of 1842; for it was expected that on the morrow it would be a day of high carnival promised by the gentle and even piling up of the falling snow without.

Those were the days when the fashion of making "New Year's calls" was at its height, and almost everybody kept "open house." Days before, the order books of the then leading concoctors of sweets, McArthur, and Van Kleeck, were "tell tales" of where there was likely to be a spread of macaroons, meringues, silver, gold and fruit cake and the old-time gothic-shaped New Year's cakes that the old folks liked so well to hand out to the little ones who "went around a-wishing" and who at some homes were the most welcome of all guests.

Old Niagara Square was then the social hub and the center of attraction for callers on foot, or in sleighs of many kinds, causing the air to resound with the merry tea-bell tinkling of the tiny thill bell, and the more pleasing rattling melody of the ponderous fifteen-pound bellyband and ten-pound collar strings of old-time New England sleigh bells, that jingled to the gliding of "grandfather's high back," nearly the livelong day and well along into the evening shades.

Over on the west side of the square in the old colonial style house of the Wilkesons, the venerable Judge was "at

home." South side, the pretty landscape-and-medallion painted shades were rolled up in the parlors of Hon. Geo. R. Babcock; while on the opposite corner the gorgeous window laces of Lawyer Seth G. Austen were looped up. Across the square on the east side, the big green blinds of the Court street front of Gen. David Burt's house (now a part and parcel of the old Central High School) were non-obstructors of light. On the north side the castellated residence of Gen. George P. Barker (afterwards the Holliston-Fillmore mansion) had an inviting look with its silver latchstring hung out, emblematic of "welcome," and its neighbor, the handsome home of Col. Henry H. Sizer, withstood more than one charge of a storming party up its high stone steps.

Like most old time-honored customs abuses crept in. While it was pleasing to hear the "returns come in" from where they kept the lists of calls and number, the tired and almost distracted fair entertainer and her bevy "to assist" did not deem it incumbent upon themselves to "receive" military, fire, and target companies and societies in a body where "things get mixed" and promiscuousness prevailed, oftentimes necessitating a mid-winter's house-cleaning and an extra bill for crippled furniture repairs.

Another decade later finds the beautiful custom fast falling into disrepute, except among the families of genuine Knickerbockers, who well know how to preserve it in all its pristine glory.

THE CASE OF
BENJAMIN RATHBUN

THIS REMARKABLE FINANCIER'S OWN STATEMENT OF
HIS OPERATIONS IN BUFFALO AND NIAGARA
FALLS, CULMINATING IN FORGERY
AND IMPRISONMENT.

Now first published from his own manuscript written in jail.

THE CASE OF BENJ. RATHBUN¹

THE STORY OF A FAMOUS BUILDER OF BUFFALO, WHO
SERVED FIVE YEARS IN STATE'S PRISON FOR
FORGERY, AS TOLD BY HIMSELF.

It is generally known in Buffalo that my business transactions have been of an immense amount and various in their character.

Extensively engaged in the building business in all its various branches, the improving of real estate, merchandising on a corresponding scale, dealing in lands, manufacturing railroad cars, post coaches and pleasure carriages in all their variety, running various lines of stages and omnibuses and many other minor branches of business, it became absolutely necessary to appoint an agent or overseer to each respective department, my own time being continually occupied in devising and carrying out extended

1. Readers of volume sixteen of these Publications may recall that a chapter entitled "A Builder of Buffalo" was devoted to the building and financial operations of Benjamin Rathbun. At the close of the chapter (p. 103) reference was made to a curious manuscript by Mr. Rathbun, owned by the Buffalo Historical Society. "Its importance," it was there stated, "as a chapter of Buffalo history, entitles it to publication in full, to which end it is destined, in a succeeding volume of these Publications."

This is the document here printed. It has never been published, so far as known. The little that can be told about it is that prior to 1872 it was in the keeping of the Young Men's Association of Buffalo. On January 5th of the year named it was turned over to the Buffalo Historical Society. It consisted of 68 foolscap pages, but the first page is lost, and the second page bears two captions, not in Rathbun's writing: "Confession of Benj. Rathbun"; and, more accurately, "Statement of Benj. Rathbun's affairs, by himself." The statement is wholly in Mr. Rathbun's peculiar and often difficult handwriting;

plans of improvement and superintending the various works I had in progress.

My financial operations were of necessity constant and heavy in their amount, and being so constantly employed both in body and mind in my out-door operations, it necessarily forced the entire management of all my pecuniary transactions into the hands of another.

For some years, my only brother, Lyman Rathbun, has been my confidential agent and cashier. From his long experience in that branch of my business the skill and management he had exercised in conducting it in all its varieties through the changes and pressures of times had not only gained my entire confidence, but I have reasons to believe he had the confidence of all those who have moneyed transactions with him, that he possessed extraordinary financial powers.

So confident was I of his superior ability to myself in the management of that part of the concern that I had for a long period of time given up the entire direction, control and management of all my finances to him. I never interfered with his management and for a long time have not written any letters to my agents on money matters but what were dictated by him, and in all such cases have followed

and although great care has been taken in copying, it is possible that our transcript has now and then gone astray. Countless errors of spelling and phraseology in the original have been corrected. That Mr. Rathbun wrote this statement in jail, between the time of his arrest (Aug. 3, 1836) and his conviction and removal to Auburn prison, September, 1838, is proved by numerous allusions in the text. The loss of the first page breaks a preliminary statement, which does not appear at all essential. Our text begins with what was the author's real beginning, on page two.

That this statement is important, in the documentary history of Buffalo, needs no assertion. Read in connection with the accounts of the Rathbun enterprises and forgeries above referred to, and elsewhere in these volumes, it offers to the future historian fuller data than have been heretofore available, for an intelligent and unbiased record of this remarkable man's part in the history of Buffalo.

his advice and direction, for he had so entirely the control of that part of the business that I seldom knew when, where, or how funds were raised, and never when payments were due, but from him.

I furnished him my signature in blank on notes, drafts and checks, in all the variety of forms both as drawer and endorser, and in addition to which he had a full power of attorney to sign my name and transact all manner of business for me.

He had in his employment and under his immediate and exclusive control his two nephews, Rathbun Allen and Lyman Rathbun Howlet,¹ both of whom were hired by him, and by his particular request were taken under his immediate and exclusive control. These two young men were constantly in his employ, while other clerks were sometimes called to his aid in many of his out-door money transactions, my name being furnished in blank in all the variety of forms necessary for his use. He in all instances procured the necessary endorsements. I left the entire management to him. So completely had he the control of all my financial concerns, as well as of my confidence, that I did not know anything in detail or the amount of my liabilities until since the failure, nor do I even now know the full extent, having no opportunity of getting at the facts.

The *management* of the other branches of my business was also entrusted to agents of respectability and in whom I had the most entire confidence.

James DeLong was my general agent in all out-door operations, to make contracts, collect the payments on contracts, and a general superintendent of all out-door affairs.

Samuel Haines, a general agent and overseer of the

1. This name often occurs as "Howlett," but Mr. Rathbun always wrote it "Howlet," and so it appears in the Buffalo Directory of 1836.

mechanical part of the building operations, each branch having its respective foreman.

W. S. Gardner and J. W. Thwaites, architects.

W. F. Wright, A. Hemstreet, O. Stickney, W. W. Mason, J. Phelps, C. Talmage and A. Phelps, foremen carpenters.

A. Loomis, C. G. Howel, T. Young, W. Brewster, A. Sweet, G. Williams, W. B. Olmstead, B. Hopkins, S. Hobert and C. M. Russell, foremen joiners.

D. Canfield, superintendent of mason work.

R. Demsey, T. Demsey, F. Singer, R. Sour, foremen stone masons.

G. Phillips, N. Jones, H. Rumrill, R. Gorham, S. Gorham, B. Gorham, T. B. Tilden, D. Moon, T. Phillips and H. Cummings, foremen brick masons.

J. Mantling, superintendent of flagging and paving.

J. Scott, overseer and head foreman of plastering and stucco corniching in all its various branches.

W. Creery, foreman plastering and corniching.

E. Lee, overseer and head foreman of the stone cutting business in all its various branches—contractor and measurer of cut stone, etc.

J. McEntire, foreman of stone-cutters' shop.

R. G. Buchanan, overseer and head foreman of house painting and glazing, with other foremen under him.

A. Gardner, superintendent of steam engine and foreman at machinery.

G. W. Platt, foreman tinning roofs, copper gutters, conductors, etc.

H. S. Chamberlain and J. Fairchild, foremen blacksmiths.

T. S. Rainey, foreman of all horse shoeing.

A. Hawkins, foreman boat builder.

O. H. Willis, agent for purchase of lumber, superintendent of lumber yard, receiver of lumber from vessels, boats, etc.

N. R. Woodruff, measurer of lumber.

J. M. Rease, superintendent of canal and river boats and delivering building materials to the different foremen.

L. Kimball, purchaser of lumber at stores and in streets as it comes to market.

B. Smith, superintendent the delivery of supplies to the various foremen of the different branches—receiver and measurer of building stone, etc., etc.

E. J. Weeks, warehouse clerk.

R. H. Best, general overseer of all the teaming department in all its varieties.

S. Holden, overseer of brick yards.

Geo. Martin Rose, superintendent of stone quarry and general overseer of all the laborers.

Nicholas Ketz, Francis Safford and Lawrence Young, foremen laborers.

J. E. Haddock, clerk to take amount of all laborers' time every day and give each a certificate of their time every week, which certificate was presented to the paymaster and entered in a pass book, one of which was required to be kept by each and every mechanic and laborer, in which was entered his debit and credit every week. That book always showing the balance (if any) due the holder, and that book was a sufficient order and authority for any clerk to pay goods to the amount due the owner. (The cash always paid by the paymaster.) These books were very important, as they served as a check to overdrawing and in fact as important to both parties as a bank book is for the customer of a bank where frequent deposits are made.

Each and every of the above named foremen and overseers had a number of men under them.

It was the duty of every foreman or overseer to render an account to the bookkeeper or paymaster every week, the number of men under him, the number of days each worked, and the price of each man's work, by giving a certificate to each (having printed blanks for that purpose). The amount of such certificate was required to be entered in a pass-book by the bookkeeper as before mentioned, and every person was paid a part or all his wages once a week by the paymaster, who received his funds in all cases from L. Rathbun, the cashier and sole manager of all the financial matters.

The amount of the building operations alone were heavy. The contracts entered into for others, and buildings commenced on my own lots for the year 1836, amounted to more than one million dollars, notwithstanding I had cautioned my general agent, DeLong, to hold back and try to curtail my building operations and if possible reduce the demand for money.

A. S. Merrill, general agent and overseer of the several branches of business, including the building of railroad cars, post coaches and pleasure carriages of all descriptions, each branch having their respective foremen, viz.:

Wm. Brown, foreman of building railroad cars.

S. A. Sayre and W. C. Palmer, foremen of the wood work of post coaches.

T. Armstrong, foreman of wood work of pleasure carriages.

G. Singer and J. Davis, wheelwrights.

Geo. Hogg, foreman ironing post coaches.

A. Waddell, foreman ironing pleasure carriages.

J. Van Evern, foreman painter of post coaches and pleasure carriages.

S. C. Smith, foreman trimmers of railroad cars and post coaches.

T. T. Laing, foreman trimmers of pleasure carriages.

All persons connected with these branches of the establishment received their pay from A. S. Merrill and he received his funds from L. Rathbun and deposited all his receipts for work sold (whether in cash or notes) with L. Rathbun as the proper person to take charge of all receipts, as all disbursements were made by him through the authorized paymasters or agents.

Edwin Smith, general agent and superintendent of stores, teams, purchase of building materials, and paymaster at Niagara Falls.

J. W. Colie, general agent, architect and superintendent of all the different branches of mechanical operations at Niagara Falls with foremen under him for all the different mechanical departments, viz.: stone cutters, stone masons, brick masons, plasterers, carpenters, joiners, millwrights, painters and glaziers, stone quarries, brick yards, etc., etc. Much of the business at Niagara Falls required and received a share of my personal attention, as it was the commencement of operations, consequently plans had to be formed and systems adopted that would unite in carrying out the general arrangements for future improvements, which were commenced on a magnificent scale.

Z. Sleeper, agent and clerk at Cattaraugus Falls, where I have a store of goods and mills for sawing lumber which was a heavy and very important item in my building operations.

E. L. Stevenson, head clerk and bookkeeper in general stage office.

S. Hemenway, agent and superintendent of coaches and horses at Buffalo for all the different lines running out of Buffalo.

J. T. Hathaway, general traveling agent and superintendent on all the different lines of stages, which, if in a single line, would amount to more than five hundred miles a day.

I also run a splendid line of omnibuses the entire length of Main street.

Thomas G. Perkins, agent for purchase of dry goods and head clerk of the dry goods stores in Buffalo.

The Feeny¹ dry goods store, No. 230 Main street, was under his entire control and management as were the clerks employed in said store.

The carpet store, 308 Main street, was managed by Geo. Clark.

Wm. F. Holmes, head clerk in the large and principal dry goods store 306 Main street with 6 or 8 other clerks.

Wm. Kortz, head clerk in the large and principal grocery, provision and hardware store 306 Main street, with 6 or 8 other clerks.

Albert Smith, agent located at stores for the receipt and payment of various building materials, superintending the receiving of all kinds of goods at warehouse, etc.

G. K. Coates, paymaster and bookkeeper of the mechanics and laborers who always received his funds for said payments of L. Rathbun.

J. R. Beals, bookkeeper and agent for the collection of all money due on leases of houses, stores, shops, lots, etc., etc., and when collected his deposits were always made with L. Rathbun.

1. The Buffalo directories of the '30's do not contain this name, but so it appears to be in the Rathbun MS.

Jas. Dickson, bookkeeper.

Henry Seymour, teller, for redeeming engraved notes, and checks which were issued as money, the funds for which he always received from L. Rathbun and rendered all his accounts to L. Rathbun for everything done in money matters.

The head clerks in each and every store were required to deposit all the receipts of the stores with L. Rathbun, and all the funds for payments of every kind, whether in cash or notes, checks or drafts, were always drawn from him.

In all these several branches it will readily be seen that a large amount of money was daily required to carry them all on in the prompt and vigorous manner they were prosecuted. The daily disbursements were not less than \$10,000. The number of men actually employed in all the different branches of this establishment were not less than 2000 at the time of the failure (although the numbers had been much reduced since the first of June), and to this number add a low estimate for those who had families and there were not less than 5000 persons dependent upon the employment by this establishment for their subsistence.

My time was occupied in the general supervision of all the different branches heretofore mentioned, but more particularly in devising plans for the out-door and mechanical operations. With all these cares, it was impossible to devote a great deal of time to any one of them. Therefore, entrusted most to those who were the most competent to take charge and carry on the particular branches under their immediate control.

The purchase of goods had got to be a very important matter and as it was not possible for me to give the necessary time and attention to it I employed Mr. Horace Janes

of New York as a General Agent for the purchase of goods in New York, authorized him to hire an office with an adjoining room for packing goods, &c., which he established at No. 8 Liberty street in the month of March last. He had not occupied this station long before my brother Lyman told me his money matters were heavy in New York, as all notes had to be made payable there whether discounted at any bank or sold to brokers. Consequently they were all to be provided for in New York, and wished to know if Mr. Janes could be spared from my other employment for that purpose.

Considering the money business the most important of all, I considered that Mr. Janes might attend to such money matters in New York, as my brother should wish and direct. He accordingly sent funds to Mr. Janes to pay notes as they fell due and such other business connected with his money transactions as was necessary.

L. Rathbun told me there would be a large amount due in New York on the 17 & 19 March and that he had sent R. Allen with some funds to assist Mr. Janes in providing for those heavy payments and said R. Allen had got rather slack; he had urged him so strong and so often that it had got to be rather an old story for him to urge Allen and wished me to write him, for he said my letters would have a great deal more influence with Allen than his. He said I must write him strong letters and urge him with strong language to do his utmost to provide for the paper falling due the 17th and 19th and such other matters as he wished him to attend to—dictating to me what to write. I accordingly wrote him several letters while in New York in March, all of which were dictated by L. Rathbun as he understood and had the entire management of all that matter.

Mr. Janes continued and took the entire management of money matters in New York, and R. Allen returned in the month of April. Soon after Mr. Janes took hold of money matters in New York I learned from my brother that he should have so much for Mr. Janes to do in that business that he'd have but little time to buy goods.

Having some other business in New York I started myself for New York on the 4th April and took with me Mr. Thos. G. Perkins, who purchased most of the goods for all the stores in the spring of 1836, for most of my time was taken up in other matters and as I had purchased most of the stock of the Patterson Bank some time was necessary to examine the affairs of the bank, generally, prepare for the annual election of officers, etc., etc.

Having a large interest in the Granville Bank, Ohio, I attended to the completion of the engraving of plates for the large bills, post notes, etc., for that bank.

Engaged my plates for the Commercial Bank of Fort Erie and got the engraving under way.

Employed R. M. Blatchford, Esq., attorney at law, as my legal counsel and attorney, in all legal matters both for myself in person and for Mr. Janes, and the first act was to draw a general and full Power of Attorney for Horace Janes to transact any business for me and in my name. My own time was so wholly taken up in other matters while in New York I could not get time to settle the bills for goods purchased by Mr. Perkins. I therefore left my signature in blank with Mr. Janes for him to fill up notes for the different amounts of the respective bills of goods purchased by Mr. Perkins, and before I left New York I furnished Mr. Janes with my signature on blank notes and checks for him to fill up and use whenever it became necessary in the transaction of his money matters as he should be directed

by L. Rathbun. Mr. Janes took hold of this branch of the business with a spirit and will and firmness seldom if ever equaled by men. Too much credit cannot be given him for his untiring exertions and uniform devotion to my interest. Whatever effect my failure may have upon his pecuniary interest, he has one consolation that his conduct in my business, as laborious, various and trying as it was both to body and mind, he never lost sight of the strictest integrity and that high sense of honor which so ennobles the man and raises him above the censures of the world.

I returned to Buffalo in April; nothing of any importance occurred to my knowledge in money matters until about the 18th May, when a large amount of my paper fell due in New York, and for some reason (not in my possession) my brother could not get the necessary funds to Mr. Janes in time to prevent a large amount of paper of various amounts and in various forms being protested.¹ This created quite an uneasiness with my brother, staggered Mr. Janes—created some timidity in the mind of my newly appointed cashier of the Patterson Bank, and for a time shook the confidence of my New York friends. I discovered my brother was laboring under intense anxiety and appeared to be alarmed, fearing so much paper being protested at once would shake the confidence of endorsers and he should be troubled to get them to continue their endorsements (as he said to me). He told me that among the papers protested were a number of notes endorsed by D. E. Evans of Batavia, and he said he thought I had more influence with Mr. Evans than he had; he wished I would write to Mr. Evans and explain the facts which he said were that he had sent a messenger to New York with funds

1. Compare Thos. Farnham's account, *Pubs., Buf. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xvi, pp. 79-81.

to enable Mr. Janes to provide for all that paper, but for some reason did not arrive at New York in time to save protest, but that the paper would all be taken up without delay. I granted his request and followed his directions.

I asked him how he would get along with the great number of endorsers in Buffalo who had received notices of protest. He said he would take that upon himself to see them in person, each and every individual. He felt confident he could explain the matter to their satisfaction; as he had got their endorsements he thought he could get along with them quite as well as I could, and as it was his neglect not sending funds in time he'd take that upon himself and not trouble me any further than write Mr. Evans. But if any [of] these endorsers should call on me he wish'd me to state to them as he had requested me to state to Mr. Evans. I heard nothing from any of the Buffalo endorsers, none of them called on me, and after some days I enquired of my brother how he got along with those gentlemen. He said he believed they were all satisfied with the explanations. Thus it passed off and I came to this conclusion in my own mind that he (my brother Lyman Rathbun) had more influence with these gentlemen than I had, and as he had the entire control and management of all the money matters I felt it a great relief that he was so perfectly master of his business that he had such influence with that class of men to whom I felt under so much obligation for their assistance. At the same time I supposed they felt that in assisting me they were assisting themselves to a certain extent for they were sensible that the improvements I was making benefited every individual owning real estate in Buffalo.

There were many strong and powerful reasons why I supposed those gentlemen were really and actually my

endorsers. What stronger proof could I have that they were and that my brother had a perfect understanding with them, than the circumstance just mentioned.

With this entire confidence of my brother's ability to manage the branch under his control, the understanding and influence I supposed he had with the endorsers, I rested perfectly satisfied he could get along with the financial part of the concern far better than I could, even if I had no other business to occupy my time.

The supervision of my many other important operations commanded my whole time both night and day. My land operations in Buffalo and Niagara Falls were important and occupied a portion of my time. Much more of my time was necessarily taken up in attention to strangers from New York and elsewhere who were daily referred to me for information on subjects of improvements, worth of lots, cost of blocks of buildings, etc., all of which I felt a deep interest in, as I held so much real estate; and although my own business was pressing upon me there were cases of this kind I could not consistently shake off and have any regard to common civility.

Thus the business went on without the least apprehension that anything was wrong until the 14th of June last. A friend and highly respectable gentleman of this city mentioned to me in the street (apparently confidential) that from some intimations he had from New York he "was afraid there was something going on wrong in my money matters that I knew nothing about." I immediately made some indirect inquiring of my brother, but getting no direct or satisfactory answer I made up my mind to go immediately to New York where the error was supposed to exist, and accordingly made my arrangements in my out-door business affairs as speedily as possible and in as quiet a

manner as I could consistently (being in the midst of building operations) and started for New York on the morning of 20th June to ascertain if possible where the alleged "wrong" existed, and from all I was able to learn without creating alarm was that my paper was out for a much greater amount than I had any previous knowledge of.

In going to New York as I did with a supposition there was something wrong in the money matters in New York I had reason to suppose if there was anything wrong anywhere it originated there, consequently was (or intended to be) extremely cautious in my examination, and although I learned that a very large amount of my paper was out, more than I had any knowledge of, yet I was perfectly satisfied that everything under Mr. Janes' management had been perfectly correct and if any "wrong" existed it was elsewhere.

It is due Mr. Janes to state here I have the most entire confidence in his honesty and strict integrity. Through the whole of this unfortunate transaction (whatever is said of others) Mr. Janes has proved by many visible acts to my satisfaction that he is in every respect an honest man, possessing that high sense of honor that raises him above the slightest censure.

I found from the great amount of my paper afloat (the increase having been caused by enormous shaves¹) that increased exertion was absolutely necessary and a resort to a heavy loan then seemed to be the most desirable. My first effort for relief was to apply to Richard M. Blatchford Esq. of New York City (who had from the month of April preceding been employed by me as my own legal

1. The practice of note-shaving—the buying of notes at a discount, or the taking of interest on them in excess of legal rates, developed into a somewhat formidable profession, in the early days of private banks, State banks and wild-cat finances generally. Mr. Rathbun alludes to it more than once in his narrative, and evidently regarded it as one of the causes contributory to his downfall.

adviser in New York and as general counsel for my agent H. Janes), to effect a loan for some period of time for a large amount. My agent had recommended Mr. Blatchford to me as a man who in addition to his legal experience and ability had an extensive acquaintance with moneyed men and an intimate knowledge of the money market and in whose transactions I might fully confide.

The sum of five hundred thousand dollars was required by me for one year. After several lengthy and confidential interviews with Mr. Blatchford he gave me his opinion the money could be obtained if I could furnish adequate security for its repayment, and even if necessary that double that amount might be had. The security required was to be a bond signed by myself and a sufficient number of wealthy persons in Buffalo, to the satisfaction of Mr. Blatchford. I desired Mr. Blatchford to make arrangements for the loan with the least possible delay and come immediately to Buffalo where I was to furnish the necessary bond agreeing to pay him all his expenses and a liberal compensation for his time and trouble.

Previous to this period I had in contemplation and had made most [of] my arrangements to establish a bank at Fort Erie, U. C., from which I expected great assistance and facilities in carrying on my business operations. Feeling the importance of immediate and increased exertions in my preparations to put that bank into operation on the most permanent and favorable basis for a safe and successful business, I proceeded from New York directly to Montreal to make the necessary arrangements for drawing drafts and providing other facilities which the contemplated bank might require.

My arrangements in Montreal were very satisfactory, my plans were so laid and matured that I had every confi-

dence I could put the bank in operation under the most favorable prospects of success and the facilities I could have obtained from it would have been very valuable in my mechanical operations.

I had already purchased nearly the whole of the stock of the Patterson Bank of New Jersey which was in good repute, doing a safe business on a bona fide cash capital, conducted by experienced officers under the advice and counsel of a judicious direction. The bank was doing a very respectable and profitable business from which I expected to receive accommodations as far as would be perfectly safe and for the interest of the bank.

I had also purchased the majority of the stock of the Granville Bank, Ohio, from which I expected to realize great facilities in my business operations.

Located as these three banking institutions were in the three different directions and a distance from each other, the facility with which I could in my business put the paper into a most favorable circulation had given me the greatest confidence in being able to make those banks useful to me and at the same time make the stock more productive than ordinary banks. From the sale of my Niagara Falls property I expected to receive considerable means to the extent of at least \$300,000. From all these means and facilities together with the contemplated loan of \$500,000 (a million if wanted) which I had great faith in obtaining, I had fully persuaded myself that I could extricate my affairs from their embarrassed situation.

I returned from Montreal to Buffalo on the evening of the 8th July. On the 9th I received a letter from David E. Evans Esq. of Batavia, and on the 10th while in the act of answering Mr. Evans' letters he called in person on me at my dwelling house in Buffalo.

In this interview with Mr. Evans, he informed me his name had been forged as endorser of a \$5,000 note owned by William R. Givin of Medina, Orleans County, and which Mr. Evans said he had in his possession—took it out and showed it to me.

At this information I was perfectly confounded, it being the first knowledge I had of the fact that forgeries had been committed on any of my paper.

I enquired of Mr. Evans where Mr. Givin got the note. He said that Mr. Givin received it from his flour agent in New York.

In further conversation with Mr. Evans, I enquired if he knew, or had reason to suppose, there were any other notes of a similar kind in circulation. He said from letters he had received from Albany he had reason to suppose there were others of the same sort in Albany and that he should pass through Albany soon on his way to Philadelphia. On his saying this, my first impression was I would go to Albany with Mr. Evans and there ascertain the facts. I so expressed myself to Mr. Evans. But when I reflected I had been absent some time and just returned I did not know as it would be possible for me to leave my business long enough to go to Albany. Mr. Evans said he should leave Batavia for Philadelphia the morning of the 13th. I told him I would meet him in Albany if possible, at all events I would write him on the 12th, which I did (as I could not leave so long as to go to Albany) and requested him to make a thorough examination of my paper in Albany and write me frankly the true state of the matter and result of his investigation.

Accordingly Mr. Evans wrote me from Albany on the 17th July and went on his journey to Philadelphia. In the course of this interview with Mr. Evans, on the 10th, he

proposed I should give him \$5000 in cash and take up the note.

I sent to my brother and got the money and took up the note although it had more time to run, without letting my brother know what use I wanted it for, only sent that I wanted it for an important use.

This information from Mr. Evans was astounding to me. To what extent this business had been carried on was impossible to imagine. Now what to do—what course to take—or what was my duty to do—was a very important matter. Here was a struggle indescribable. None ever equaled it in the whole period of my life. I have had many, very many, hard and severe struggles in my business operations, but nothing ever presented itself in this shape.

I finally concluded to be silent on this subject, keep the contents of this interview with Mr. Evans entirely to myself until I should get Mr. Evans' letter from Albany and then act upon the information I should receive from him.

In the mean time I wrote Mr. Blatchford urging him to make all haste in coming to Buffalo and completing the arrangements for the loan I desired. In reply to my communication Mr. Blatchford wrote me from Albany stating he had started for Buffalo, but on arriving there had been informed that Mr. Evans had just passed through that city to New York, and believing from the friendly feeling he knew existed between Mr. Evans and myself that his presence might be required in Buffalo to complete the arrangement for the loan of \$500,000, he had determined to return to New York in hopes of inducing Mr. Evans to come to Buffalo with him.

The next letter from Mr. Blatchford, written at New York, apprised me that he had found Mr. Evans in Phila-

delphia on his way south and had induced him to change his mind and return with him to Buffalo.

On the 30th of July, Mr. Blatchford came to Buffalo (in the afternoon) and immediately called to inform me of his arrival and that he had completed his arrangement for the loan of \$500,000 which was ready whenever the security was made satisfactory. He also informed me that Mr. Evans would be at Buffalo the next day. Mr. Blatchford had previously apprised me by letter from New York that Mr. Evans had generously loaned his note of \$50,000 for my benefit upon the application of my agent H. Janes and without my knowledge, and eulogizing the deep and devoted interest Mr. Evans had expressed and shown for my welfare. This letter with the subsequent arrival in Buffalo of Mr. Evans announced by Mr. Blatchford, ensured my unlimited confidence in all his future statements.

In this interview Mr. Blatchford enquired who I should propose to offer as security on the proposed bond for the loan. I named some [of] the gentlemen I supposed I could get by giving satisfactory security. Mr. Blatchford called on me again on the morning of the 31st July. He said he had seen some [of] those gentlemen I had named to him. He thought there would be no difficulty in arranging the matter perfectly satisfactory, providing I could make the security satisfactory to those gentlemen, and for the purpose of showing those gentlemen what security I could give them he proposed I should make out a statement of all my real estate and its encumbrances with an estimate of my personal property. I proceeded with diligence to comply with Mr. Blatchford's request and in the afternoon had prepared and delivered to him for examination the schedule which became subsequently attached to my assignment and marked schedule A. On inspecting it he expressed very great sur-

prise at the extent and value of my estate and spoke in unmeasured terms of the perfect facility and readiness with which this matter would be accomplished, and took the schedule to show to those gentlemen who I supposed were to unite in the security for the loan. On the morning of the first of August, Mr. Evans called on me and exhibited a statement of his loans and liabilities for me and desired me to give him a judgment for the amount. I objected to doing anything of that line, saying I feared it would interfere with the loan which we were then making our arrangements for, and should rather not do anything without seeing the gentlemen that were to be interested.

Mr. Evans replied that he had conversed with some of the gentlemen alluded to and that they made no objection to his having the first lien as his claim was for his paper advanced without any profit to him, but merely for my accommodation, and he then took out his bond and warrant of attorney. I saw it was filled up in the handwriting of one of the gentlemen I had supposed would be engaged in procuring the loan, which satisfied me of the fact and I accordingly executed the papers, which gave Mr. Evans a judgment of eighty thousand dollars.

Shortly after this was done, Mr. Evans called on me again and said Mr. Blatchford wished to see me in some private room. I accordingly went with Mr. Evans to my dwelling house,¹ where we met Mr. Blatchford and D. H. Chandler, Esq., of Batavia, who appeared as Mr. Evans' counsel. I supposed Mr. Evans had brought Mr. Chandler (his counsel) with him to see that the papers for the loan and those to secure it were properly and legally made and

1. Thomas Farnham, in his account of Rathbun published in the preceding volume of this series, says he lived in 1836 at the northeast corner of Main and Eagle streets (p. 78). The Buffalo Directory for 1836 records his residence as "267 Main, cor. North Division."

supposing Mr. Evans the most important individual in the accomplishment of this object I went into a private room with those three gentlemen, viz. Mr. Evans, Mr. Chandler and Mr. Blatchford, to talk over and devise the most fit and proper security (as I supposed) for the all important loan.

Here Mr. Blatchford was principal speaker, which I considered proper, as he was the most important personage in this matter, as the security for the loan had to be made satisfactory to him.

Mr. Blatchford gave me fully to understand the contemplated loan could be effected upon my executing the necessary transfer of my estate as security to those who were to sign the bond. He also intimated that the knowledge of extensive forgeries of their names had come to these gentlemen and that they were unwilling to sign the bond and take the transfer of my property unless the paper or instrument by which I conveyed it contained powers adequate to enable them to make a final settlement of my estate in the event of its being necessary.

He also promised the whole matter should be kept secret and indeed spoke of it—and regarded it—merely as a precautionary measure on my part to serve in the contingency of my not being able to settle my own affairs, that then those persons who were to become my security should have full power to settle it.

Believing from Mr. Blatchford's representations that Mr. Evans had been fully apprised of the understanding between Mr. Blatchford and myself and confiding as I have before stated in the integrity of Mr. Blatchford and his exclusive devotion to my interest, and relying on the friendship and sound judgment of Mr. Evans, whose presence I construed as an approval of all that was done, I yielded

more freely to the suggestions of Mr. Blatchford and consented to execute the paper he then prepared.

When the assignment was prepared by Mr. Blatchford I told him I was ignorant of the nature and effect of such an instrument and desired to know if the paper he wished me to sign contained all the powers and provisions requisite to carry into effect our previous understanding. He replied distinctly it did. Mr. Blatchford seemed to be very anxious to have the business speedily done. My mind was exceedingly agitated and although a subject of great importance it was hurried on and the whole matter completed in a few hours and without leaving the presence of those three gentlemen for a moment from the time the subject of an assignment was named until it was signed.

Immediately after the assignment was signed, Mr. Blatchford requested me to get together my deeds and other evidences of title and go with him to the dwelling house of H. Pratt,¹ Esq., (where he said the assignees were assembled) which I accordingly did, where I found all my assignees, Mr. Evans and Mr. Chandler, this being the first interview I had with the assignees.

From what Mr. Blatchford had said I supposed these deeds and other titles were wanted to be used as security for the proposed loan.

But the time seemed so short for an investigation of that matter it was agreed to postpone it until after the sale at the Falls of Niagara, which had been extensively advertised to take place the next day. It was therefore distinctly and positively agreed that nothing would be said of what had been done until we should all get together again and consummate the arrangements—which pledge was most

1. On Swan street at Elm.

sacredly fulfilled on my part—not even giving the least intimation to L. Rathbun, my clerk. It was there agreed we should all go to Niagara Falls the next day and attend the sale of the immense property I had advertised to take place there, and to continue there until the sale should be closed and then return to Buffalo and hold a meeting where it should be agreed on distinctly what course should be pursued in this matter and settle the final arrangements (as I was induced to suppose) for the loan of the \$500,000. One important reason for deferring it until the sales were closed at Niagara Falls [was] a large amount of the best kind of security was supposed would be available from that sale.

I would here remark (since much has been said of the limited provisions of my assignment) that I regret the assignment does not make more general provisions for protecting the interest and more advantageously settling the estate by providing for finishing building contracts, paying liens, on real estate, etc.

Being ignorant myself of the form on necessary provisions of such instrument, the hurried manner in which it was done, and the confidence I placed in others to do it right, is my only apology for its being as it is.

It is due to my assignees here to state that however deficient the assignment may be in its provisions for protecting the interest on the speedy and advantageous settlement of the estate, it is no fault of theirs, for I did not see either of them myself on the subject until after the assignment was signed.

If there was any error it was in the speedy manner so important a paper was drawn up (if it was supposed it would be used in the settlement of the estate). The reason why I did not look into it more particularly myself is, I did not suppose it would be necessary to use it, having my

whole mind intent upon the loan and in case that was obtained I did not suppose the assignment would be used.

I now regret as deeply as any one that it does not possess all the powers and provisions so desirable for the convenience of the assignees and interest of creditors. Such as it is, I executed it in good faith to enable my assignees to settle my estate in case it became necessary; and from the legal course taken with me, it became absolutely necessary for the assignees to take charge of the property, and I have the faith to believe they have done the very best they could do under the provisions of the assignment. If this subject had been named to me in the first place, in a different manner, an assignment with very different provisions might have been drawn. I should in that case have taken more time, for I knew the settlement of that estate was a very important and laborious business.

The greatest error in making the assignment was a want of frankness on the part of those proposing an assignment should be made. Had it been told me at once frankly that there was no probability of obtaining a loan, I should at once [have] set about making an assignment as the all-important instrument to settle the immense estate and not made it in haste or as a "contingency." But [I] should have abandoned the sales at Niagara Falls and at once set about the important instrument with the best advice Buffalo afforded, and when done should have then had the opportunity of proclaiming the failure and the causes of it to the public myself.

The following day, being 2nd August, I went early to the Falls and all my assignees (except Mr. Love), together with Mr. Evans, Mr. Chandler and Mr. Blatchford were there in the course of the day. The sales proceeded as I had reason to expect and I had no reasons to suspect that

anything was in contemplation (or that anything would interfere to defeat the project of the loan) or that there would be anything different from the understanding with Mr. Blatchford until some time in the forenoon of the second day of the sale. Mr. Chandler called on me, saying Mr. Evans, Mr. Blatchford and himself were about to proceed at once to Buffalo. I immediately became alarmed at this intelligence and began to fear that some breach of faith with me was intended, and requested Mr. Chandler to inform Mr. Evans and Mr. Blatchford that I wished to see them immediately. They came to me, when I reiterated the understanding I had on this subject and they then agreed that our meeting should take place at H. Pratt's house in Buffalo, at 7 o'clock that evening, 3rd August. I also stated in this interview that unless the loan was accomplished *that night I should stop business* and that my doors would close that night for the *last time*, should that be the result, and thus terminate and bring to a final close this immense business on which the employment and prospects of so many depended. I wished to be distinctly understood that I claimed the privilege of announcing the fact of my failure to the public myself through the next morning's papers, and state the cause of my closing my doors, which was, that I was informed my own notes were afloat with forged endorsements to a large amount and that I could not consent to the business continuing another day; that as soon as I ascertained the facts and important particulars of this unfortunate matter I should state them to the public. Could I have had the privilege of making such a statement to the public myself in the first place, it would have put the whole of this unfortunate subject in a very different shape from that credited by all the variety of whims, views, and imagination circulated by rumor.

Before leaving the Falls as well as on my way to Buffalo, I was advised and urged by those I had reason to believe were my friends, not to return to Buffalo—that my personal safety was in jeopardy and that my only safety was immediate flight. This advice I knew was from those who could know nothing of the facts and who then supposed I was more implicated in the transactions than I really was. I knew my own case better than they could. Therefore, regardless of all consequences, I determined to return to Buffalo and if possible yet effect the loan. But in the course of that day it had become quite public in Buffalo, through the imprudence of one of the gentlemen who made the pledge, that I had made an assignment, and before night it was rumored that there was forged endorsements on my paper, and before I arrived in Buffalo my brother Lyman was arrested and in prison.

I was arrested immediately on my arrival at my office door and imprisoned without going to my dwelling house or entering any of my premises.

This hasty and unfortunate termination prevented the opportunity and deprived me of the privilege of making the statement before mentioned, for when I arrived at Buffalo the rumor of the failure and the unfortunate circumstances which caused it were many miles on their way in every direction—and in all the variety of forms that could be imagined by an excited community.

After being arrested and in prison, the first and what seemed to me to be a very important move, was to settle the estate in the most speedy manner that prudence would admit of, and from the immense amount and the great variety of the business matters, I knew it was a very laborious and difficult task, and more especially for those who

had not been engaged in or had immediate connection with the detail of the business.

From the knowledge I had of, and the experience I had in, the supervision of these several branches, I felt that I could be very useful in the arrangement and settlement of these various matters, and for that reason had a great desire to be bailed out of prison that I might be useful in the speedy settlement of the estate, and had I been bailed in the first instance I have the vanity to suppose and the faith to believe a very different state of things would have been produced. But finding my application for bail opposed and every exertion useless, I issued a circular on the 31st August last to all my creditors, hoping they'd unite in the adoption of some plan and take the property for a more speedy settlement of the estate than could be done under the assignment with its limited provisions. The effect of this circular was to call a meeting of my New York creditors, who appointed a committee, which committee came to Buffalo and through their influence and assistance I was bailed out of prison on \$60,000 bonds.

But I was no sooner out than measures were on foot to put me back, which was effected in precisely one week from my liberation, where I have been since in very close confinement, and although I am conscious I have never given the least occasion for suspicion that I had any desire to escape, still I am watched with more jealousy and confined in a close cell more rigidly than any other prisoner in this jail.

I don't mean to speak of this as complaining, but simply to state facts and to show I have no possible chance of assisting in the settlement of the estate.

Immediately after my imprisonment I set about the enquiring into the real state of facts in regard to all this

mysterious business of alleged forgeries. These enquiries for a time seemed to be nearly useless, as they were answered (if at all) with such caution and in such a guarded manner that it always gave me pain to broach the subject, seeing it caused such painful feelings in others. Consequently I did not press the subject until it seemed that the wishes of the public and interest of our citizens absolutely required a public explanation. For this reason I pressed my brother to make up his mind to this disagreeable, yet all important, duty, and at once commence the task.

I waited, and again urged him—waited and again pressed him. But it seemed that when his mind was called to the subject that the horror pierced his very soul.

Thus it passed on until he was bailed out, when I had but little opportunity of seeing him, for he came to the prison but seldom. I suppose those visits were less frequent in consequence of my constantly urging him to make the statement, whenever I saw him.

Finding the prospect of his making the statement lessening and the desires of the public to have it increasing, I set about enquiring of him from time to time into some of the important matters, and although his visits to the prison were seldom, and the interviews very short, owing probably to the unpleasantness of the subject to him, still I did get from him, what I consider some very important facts. Many more might have been got had he not answered most of my questions with such reluctance. I was induced at times to desist for a while, hoping to remove that restraint which seemed to govern all his answers.

This is a heart-rending duty for me and those in the greatest possession of the finer feelings of our nature can be the better judges of mine when called on by the wishes of [the] community and the deep interest of our most worthy

citizens to state facts that under ordinary circumstances my heart would fail me and my pen refuse its duty.

My brother was a man, and although constrained to say it myself, he was a very extraordinary man, possessing very extraordinary powers in many branches; but more especially in financial matters. It is but justice here to remark that whatever he has done, I have faith to believe, and it's the strong conviction of my heart, that he never intended wrong to any one, or that any person should suffer in consequence of (what he considered) the necessity of his imprudence, and as a very strong proof of his views in this matter he was very particular and took unwearied pains to keep all his transactions from my knowledge, which as he has often since the failure said, gave him more trouble than to keep it from any one else.

He had got his two nephews into this unfortunate business (as he said) from necessity as the business had so increased on his hands it was impossible to manage it without assistance and that of talent and the most trusty; he had promised them protection from harm should any difficulty arise and as a proof of his intention to fulfill that pledge his first move, after his arrest was to send a messenger after Allen who was then west, apprising him of the failure and advising him to take care of himself. His next move was to send L. R. Howlet away out of the country unbeknown to anybody when or where he was sent.

I should have given what information I have obtained from him to the public before, but was frequently told that Lyman Rathbun would be brought back, and learning that very great exertions were making and frequent letters received from his pursuers stating the favorable prospect of overtaking, I was induced to suppose it possible that he would be brought back, and should he return I supposed

he would be induced to make the public statement I so often urged him to do, which would be more full, distinct and satisfying to the public than to get it second-handed and in the limited manner I am in possession of what I can state.

This business commenced, as I learn from him, in a very small way at a time while I was absent, when assistance was not at his control, to save the protest of some important paper at a time when some timidity existed as to my ability to meet my engagements; he said he feared if that note should be protested that it might at that time be the cause of much trouble and possibly the means of a failure, and as he had the charge of the financial department he felt a very weighty responsibility on him although the money matters of the concern at that time was light compared with subsequent periods. This first offence he said was by extending a check (as he termed it); this process I do not understand, therefore cannot explain it. This check he says he took up and everything got along with smooth, so that whenever he got cornered for funds he resorted to a similar proceeding, sometimes making checks and sometimes endorsing them. These acts at different periods were resorted to for a considerable length of time. Sometimes quite an amount would be in the brokers' offices and at other periods it would be all taken up. Thus it ran on, he says, for some time before he would make any use of notes.

The detail of this matter I am not in possession of, for want of time to get it during the limited interviews I had with him on this disagreeable subject; considering it most important to [the] community that the main facts should be got first, supposing then I should have time and opportunity to get hold of the smaller matters in their turn.

On my enquiring of L. Rathbun who had done the writ-

ing, in reply he said, when this first commenced he was alone in it and when it had increased beyond his ability to manage it in all its different movements he took Rathbun Allen into his private room and after a long and strong talk telling him it had become absolutely necessary for him to have some assistance, that he had got into that business, there was no other way but to go through with it and get out of it soon as possible.

But to do it and not let me know how the paper was situated he must have some assistance and he dare not trust any other clerk, therefore he must take hold and help him to carry it through; then went on and repeated to Allen some part of the strong impressions I had made on his mind when he first commenced the control and management of the financial department, of the importance of his task, that I had told him that everything depended on the correct, prompt and thorough attention to all payments, that every part of the immense business depended on the financial part being properly managed, that he had told me he would take that part upon himself and if any body could do it he could, that he took not only a great interest, but a pride to carry it through, but found it impossible to do it without assistance. He said he talked with Allen until he consented to take hold, supposing they should soon be able to get it in a more prudent situation. After Allen had enlisted and got his feelings into the business Lyman said it became very necessary for Allen to do a considerable of the writing.¹

After Lyman Rathbun Howlet came to Buffalo, by the special arrangement of Lyman Rathbun and without my knowledge, he was taken by L. Rathbun into his business

1. Mr. Rathbun evidently strove in this statement to avoid use of the word "forgery," but he came to it before he got through; though always ascribing the actual act to others. That this did not clear him of guilt, the sequel proved. See Gov. Seward's decision, as quoted in vol. xvi, p. 99.

and under his immediate and special charge, direction and control. I did not see him until he had been in L. Rathbun's business for a number of days and then it was by his coming to my dwelling house on an errand for his uncle Lyman.

L. Rathbun first put him to drawing amounts¹ (?) in his moneyed arrangements, but soon after he came into L. Rathbun's employment L. R. had occasion to send R. Allen away for some days after money, and in his absence at some time he (L. R'n) said it became absolutely necessary to let L. R. H. into his secret, and not long after he tried his skill at writing L. R'n said the boy took hold of that part with the most astonishing skill; he said he was at the time perfectly astonished himself at the boy's skill and ability in imitation, and L. Rathbun told me that Lyman Rathbun Howlet had done the most of the writing latterly.

Why, says he, that is the most extraordinary young man that he ever knew or heard of. He said that he would imitate any man's handwriting and in some instances where he was familiar with the hand he could imitate it so exactly that it would be extremely difficult if not impossible for the person whose writing it resembled to detect it himself. This would seem very improbable was it not known that he can and has imitated eleven different signatures as endorsers so exact that they were not detected by good judges, as I am informed and believe to be true.

It has been noticed and remarked that he was a very remarkable, smart, active young man, and had distinguished himself in financial operations, but I presume no one had mistrusted he was ever engaged in any such transactions, for certainly I had not the least suspicion of him until after he was sent away by L. R. I then learned it from L. R'n

1. Original manuscript very obscure, but so it appears to read.

who replied when I was enquiring after the young man and where he had gone, for I wanted him as a witness. L. R. said I could not get him; when I repeated with earnestness that I must have him, he replied that I could not have him for he had taken care that L. R. Howlet was safe. On enquiring what he meant, he gave me an intimation at that time the reason and subsequently gave me a full history of what the young man had done under his charge and although he said everything had been done in good faith and with the most entire confidence that a large loan would be obtained and the paper taken up as it fell due. He had so encouraged both the young men and he believed they had the most entire confidence that it would all come out right. But nobody knew the vast amount accumulated by the immense shaves.

Some time in the spring of 1836 Lyman Rathbun came to me and enquired what security I had given those eleven gentlemen for endorsing three notes of \$5,000 each. I told him they had a judgment of \$15,000 (being the amount of the notes) and an assignment of the Main-street front of the Kremlin block. After a few moments reflection, he said, those endorsers were so much benefited by my improvements (as most of them were largely interested in real estate) that he was very certain they would be willing to endorse more for me if they were applied to, at any rate he said they would not hesitate to endorse the amount of their security, which as he then estimated it would be \$60,000. He said the Kremlin was worth \$45,000 and the judgment \$15,000 would make the \$60,000, and said if I had no objection he would see them and had great confidence in getting their endorsements, for he said he knew they were all very sensible of the importance my exertions and improvements were to them as well as all Buffalo. He

wished me to fill up more notes and he would see more of them the first favorable opportunity. He said he wanted I should fill up the notes with my own hand, as that, he said, would be sufficient guarantee that he had my approbation for calling on them.

I asked him how he'd get Mr. Love's¹ endorsement, as he was in Washington. He said he'd get a line from Mr. L. F. Allen, as he had in former cases, saying it was all right and send the notes to Mr. Love by mail. I accordingly filled up more notes (the number of which is impossible to say), but I think it was either six or nine of \$5,000 each, and I think the date was left blank.

As Lyman Rathbun had the entire charge of all that branch of the business, I did not interfere. Several days passed without seeing him, which was not uncommon as my business was at that season of the year wholly out of doors. When I did see him, he spoke of the subject, said he had seen some of those gentlemen—they had not decided, but from what they said he thought they would consent to endorse them. The next time he spoke about them he said he had got them all endorsed and had sent them to Washington for Mr. Love's endorsement.

Some time after the notes had been returned, he showed me the wrapper that (he said) the notes were enclosed and returned in from Mr. Love. That wrapper I have now in my possession and it is evidently franked by Thos. C. Love.

I had no suspicion of anything being wrong in his business, consequently had no reason for any in this case, as I supposed the security in the hands of the endorsers was perfectly good for the amount. At all events I considered myself good for all the paper I had out.

1. Thomas C. Love represented Erie County in the House of Representatives from March, 1835, to March, 1837.

Lyman Rathbun now tells me that those endorsements were all made by Lyman Rathbun Howlet, but it was absolutely necessary for him to deceive me in all this matter, or he would have never got along at all.

He now says that wrapper he showed me franked by Thos. C. Love as enclosing the notes from Mr. Love, contained some public documents, that it was a mere chance circumstance (and as he thought) well calculated to deceive me, at any rate, it answered the purpose. He also tells me that all notes of that description used since are endorsed by L. R. Howlet and filled up by him so exactly imitating my hand that he dont believe they would ever be detected. He also states that all endorsements on those \$5,000 notes of eleven endorsers each, excepting those paid and provided for, were forged endorsements. The names purporting to be on said notes are as follows: Lewis F. Allen, Hiram Pratt, Joseph Clary, Ira A. Blossom, Thomas C. Love, John W. Clark, Charles Townsend, Sheldon Thompson, Ebenezer Johnson, Henry Morris and Joseph Dart, Jr.

Lyman Rathbun states in the most positive terms that neither [*sic*] of the above names are actually on my paper for a dollar (except such as has been paid or provided for). That wherever their names appear on my notes of \$5,000 each they have been forged. That on most of said \$5,000 notes Noyes Darrow's name has been used instead of Henry Morris; that wherever N. Darrow's endorsement appears on said described notes with the other above named endorsements, it is forged.

N. Darrow has endorsed none of my paper but L. Rathbun says he has given him a copy of all the notes he endorsed and has also referred to bill book. Lyman Rathbun further states that Joseph Clary, Potter & Babcock, Townsend & Coit or Townsend, Coit & Co. are not actually endorsers on

my paper for a dollar, although their endorsements (or some of them) appear for a large amount—he says they are all forged.

There may be others whose names have been used that are not actually endorsers for anything at the present time. This is one of the important facts—I regret I did not get a positive statement from him.

Another important fact I regret is not in my possession to state for want of the facts from L. R. He told me that a number of citizens' names had been used and some of them for a large amount, although actual endorsers, but for a small amount compared with the amount their names appear on.

The only decision I got of him in such cases was a reference to his bill book, which is a book I have never seen, consequently am unable to describe either the actual or forged endorsements, although he said there was a private mark by which he could decide the actual signatures from the others. But without much reference he said he could not tell himself even in cases where he was quite familiar with the signatures, for such was the skill with which that young man imitated that it may be very difficult to even get at some, to the entire satisfaction of all parties. In that matter I can give very little information. L. R. gave me several names which he said had been used, some of which were used for large amounts, but I am not able to designate from the information he gave me, and there may be other names that have been used and he omitted to give them to me.

I here insert those he gave me as having been used, but said at the same time he could not state which were actual endorsements or how much their names had been used (without their knowledge) without seeing the bill book and

that, he said, he was informed was in possession of the District Attorney. Some are used as drawers of notes, etc. The names [are] as follows: David Burt, H. H. Sizer, Thomas Day, Johnson Hodge & Co., Daniel Grider, S. Mathews, N. Darrow, S. Wilkeson, Martin Daley, C. Taintor & Co., A. Palmer, N. K. Hall, Sam'l H. Macy, Wm. Forsyth, B. Humphrey, Goodrich & Stebbins, I. W. Skinner, Kimball & Haddock, Josiah Trowbridge, Gardner & Patterson, Orlando Allen, Williams & Baldwin.

Most of these names have been so exactly imitated that it's extremely difficult to detect them and in some instances it would be impossible for others to detect or distinguish the true from the spurious.

My own signature and general handwriting has been so exactly imitated that it would be impossible in many instances for others to detect it, for I know there are some instances where it's impossible for me to decide myself.

In my enquiry of Lyman Rathbun how it was possible he could have carried on the business in the manner it was represented, he replied that no one knew the amount of his labors, the constant care and anxiety night and day, and then said with all his cares he had more trouble to keep the situation of the paper from my knowledge than all others. He said Lyman Rathbun Howlet was worth six men to him. He said he never knew him to make but one mistake and that was with me. He said he had used so many notes with the eleven endorsers filled up by L. R. Howlet appearing to be my hand and as he said so good an imitation that they had never been detected; that it became necessary to get me to fill up some for fear I should find out that my filling up had been imitated and as he said he must have some true or the imitation would be detected. So he said to L. R.

Howlet a few days before the failure, he must go over to my house and ask me to fill up more notes for eleven endorsers to renew some that would fall due on the 15-18 August in New York. L. R. Howlet made this mistake: instead of coming to me to fill up more notes for eleven endorsers he brought me some notes to fill up with eleven endorsers already on the notes.

As he handed the notes to me, he said:

"Uncle Lyman wants you to fill up these notes \$5,000 each, to renew some, same kind, that will fall due in New York 15-18 August."

As I took the blanks I saw they were endorsed. I said:

"Lyman, what does this mean?"

I looked him full in the face and saw (for the first time) he was a little flushed, for he evidently saw he had made a mistake. He then proposed to take the blanks back to his uncle Lyman.

"No, sir, you can't take these to your Uncle Lyman. But do you go to your Uncle Lyman and tell him distinctly that I say there must not be any more notes used with these endorsers. If the notes due 15-18 August cannot be paid, they must be protested."

I put the blanks into a small portfolio and locked them up in my desk at the house until I should have an opportunity of an interview with my brother and get an explanation and a full investigation of the whole affair.

But as this was but a few days before Mr. Blatchford came to Buffalo, no opportunity offered until long after the failure, and even until after L. R. Howlet had left the country did I know the true state of the case.

All this has been a wonderful mysterious business, and it's not at all surprising the public should be perfectly

astounded at the facts, and what is more astonishing that it should have been carried on to such an extent in the manner it was under the sole management of a single individual and that in the face and eyes of some of our sharpest and most scrutinizing brokers and bank officers.

It's unparalleled in history.

His financial powers are unequaled and his skill in keeping the situation of the paper from my knowledge is a sufficient proof to me of his ability to keep it from others, although many of those who were in the daily and hourly habit of transacting business with him had a far greater opportunity of suspecting wrong than I had. Still, from what knowledge I have of the ability and the adroitness of his plans (none of which he explained in the recent interviews) I am perfectly satisfied that no censure should rest on others for any knowledge of the situation of the paper previous to the failure.

It is but proper here to state that in one of the last interviews I had with him, he declared in the most positive terms (what I had never doubted) that he never intended wrong, nor for a moment supposed or feared that every [? any] person would even suffer one dollar.

But before he was aware of it, the amount thus used got beyond his control. The situation of the paper compelled him to pay or renew it when due at whatever interest the holders were disposed to ask. Money getting scarcer, higher interest was paid until the amount had got to be alarming. Still, he said he saw no other way but to go onward, for he said he saw distinctly that one step backward was ruin. He frequently spoke to me of the necessity of a large loan. I encouraged him in the belief the loan would be obtained and felt that I had good ground for that

belief, and as a proof of his determination to keep the business agoing so that no one should suffer, he sent \$56,000 to New York in bank paper on the evening of 31st July and on the 1st August he sent a considerable more to take up all paper as it fell due.

However strong and just the censures may be for the imprudence of the course or the criminality of the act, I have the most entire confidence in the man's intentions and belief that such paper would all be taken up, and even under any circumstances, he said he supposed there was property enough to do it.

Yet the amount had accumulated so fast for the last few months, from the immense interest paid on so large amount, that I doubt whether he had even time to foot up the amount of indebtedness, only from day to day as payments fell due, for his labors were immense, separate from that of managing so much spurious paper in all its variety of forms, amounts and use. The best proofs of his being an extraordinary manager, are the facts that there was an immense amount of this spurious paper in our own city, in every bank and broker's office, and most of it renewable on short date. It would take volumes to explain all his plans, skill, management, adroitness and deception, which he said he had to make daily and hourly use of to deceive me and others.

In some one of these last interviews with L. Rathbun I enquired what amount he had probably paid for shaves. He replied, it was probably the amount of the forgeries. That was as near as he could get at it, and then remarked with a great deal of feeling, "If there had never been any shaving there would have never been any forging," then continued to remark (more coolly) that he had the most

entire confidence—this business of improvements, merchandising, etc., as extensive as it was, could and would have been carried through, successful and profitable, if money could have been hired at seven pr. cent., for every branch was so systematized that it could hereafter be conducted with much greater economy than in the commencement.

Documents Relating to the War of 1812

THE LETTER-BOOK OF
Gen. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

NOTE ON THE SHEAFFE PAPERS

The Buffalo Historical Society publishes this collection of documents of the War of 1812 through the courtesy of their owner, Hon. James Hilton Manning of Albany.

As a whole, the letters, orders, etc., relate chiefly to military operations on the Niagara, under the officer who succeeded in command of the British forces when Gen. Brock fell at Queenston. A brief sketch of that officer, drawn largely from the (British) Dictionary of National Biography, is in place here:

"Gen. Sir Roger Hale Sheaffe was born in Boston, Mass., July 15, 1763, the third son of William Sheaffe, deputy collector of his Majesty's customs at Boston. His mother was Susannah, eldest daughter of Thomas Child of Boston. [It is stated in Appleton's "Cyclopaedia of American Biography" that after the death of Sheaffe's father, "Earl Percy, whose quarters were at his mother's house, took charge of his education."] On May 1, 1778, through the influence of Earl Percy, he received an ensigncy, and on Dec. 27, 1780, a lieutenancy in the 5th Foot. He served in Ireland from January, 1781, to May, 1787, and in Canada from July, 1787, to September, 1797. Under the orders of Sir Guy Carleton, first Baron Dorchester, instructed by Lt. Gov. John Graves Simcoe, he was employed on a public mission in 1794 to protest against certain settlements made by the Americans on the south shore of Lake Ontario. On May 5, 1795, he obtained his company in the 5th Foot, and on March 22, 1798, a lieutenant colonelcy in the 49th. He served in Holland from August to November, 1799, in the expedition to the Baltic from March to July, 1801, and in Canada from September, 1802, to October, 1811. The rank of brevet colonel was conferred on him April 25, 1808, and that of major-general, June 4, 1811. He again served in Canada from July 29, 1812, to November, 1813. On October 13, 1812, the troops of the United States took Queenston on the Niagara, but on the same day Sheaffe, on the death of General Sir Isaac Brock, assumed the command of the British forces, recaptured the town, the Americans losing heavily in killed, wounded and prisoners. In the following year, on April 27, he defended the town of York, now Toronto, when the losses of the Americans in taking the place exceeded the total numbers of those opposed to them. Sheaffe continued to command in the Upper Province and to administer its government until June, 1813, and on his retirement received flattering testimonials from the Executive Council. For his services he was, on Jan. 16, 1813, created a baronet of Great Britain, and further rewarded by the colonelcy of the 36th Foot on Dec. 20, 1820, and his nomination as

a general on June 28, 1838. He had a residence at Edswale, County Clare, but died in Edinburgh, July 17, 1851, when his title became extinct. He married, in 1810, Margaret, daughter of John Coffin of Quebec; she died at Bath, May 1, 1855."

The English biographer above quoted omits to show that Sheaffe met a serious reverse at York, April 27, 1813. The American attack was followed by the explosion of a powder magazine, with considerable loss of life. The town was surrendered to the Americans, but during the capitulation Sheaffe and a portion of his regulars fled towards Kingston. Sheaffe was severely censured for the loss of York, and was soon after superceded in command in Upper Canada by Major General De Rottenburg. He retired to Montreal, and was given command of troops there, later retiring to Europe as above stated.

The reader will please bear in mind that the letters, orders and other documents that follow are here published, not as narrative history, but as source material likely to prove of value to the student of the period. A few of the letters, in part or in substance, have had publication; these are indicated in foot-notes. Most of them are not known to have been printed. They are here copied from the original manuscript, which presents a various handwriting, probably the work of successive aids or secretaries to the general, and the peculiarities of the original, in spelling, etc., have been followed. In most cases, of persons mentioned only by their surname, the given name or initials will be found supplied, in the Index.

It is plain that General Sheaffe kept this letter-book by him, from the time of the battle of Queenston, at least until the date of the last entry, made in Edinburgh, June 8, 1849, only two years before his death.

Documents Relating to the War of 1812

THE LETTER BOOK OF
GEN. SIR ROGER HALE SHEAFFE

MAJ. GEN. SHEAFFE'S ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF
QUEENSTON.¹

FORT GEORGE, 13th October, 1812.

SIR: I have the honor of informing Your Excellency that the Enemy made an attack with a considerable force this morning before day light on the position of Queenston; on receiving information of it, Major General Brock immediately proceeded to that post, and I cannot express my grief in having to add that he fell whilst gallantly cheering his Troops to an exertion for maintaining it— with him the position was lost, but the Enemy was not allowed to retain it long. Reinforcements having been sent up from this Post, composed of Regular Troops, Militia & Indians, a movement was made to turn his left—while some field artillery under the able direction of Capt'n Holcroft,² supported by a body of Infantry, engaged his attention in front. This operation was soon effected, & its success is chiefly to be ascribed to the judicious position taken by Norton and the Indians with him, on the woody brow of the high ground above Queenston. A communication being thus opened with Chippawa, a junction was formed with further succours that had been ordered from that Post. The Enemy was then attacked, and after a short but spirited

1. This letter, with some variations, is printed in Cruikshank's "Documentary History," etc., from a copy in the Canadian Archives.

2. Capt. William Holcroft of the Royal Artillery.

conflict, he was completely defeated. I had the satisfaction of receiving the sword of their Commander, Major General Wadsworth, on the field of battle; and many Officers, with six or seven hundred men were made Prisoners¹—a stand of Colours & a six pounder were taken— their loss in killed and wounded was considerable. On our side, except the loss of one of the most zealous and gallant Officers in His Majesty's service, we have little as yet to deplore—but I fear that his Provincial Aid de Camp, Lieutenant Colonel Macdonell, whose gallantry and merit rendered him worthy of his chief, is very dangerously wounded.

I am particularly indebted to Capt'n Holcroft, commanding the Detachment of the Royal Artillery, for his judicious and skilful cooperation with the Guns and Howitzer under his immediate Superintendence, the well directed fire from which contributed materially to the fortunate result of the action. Lieutenant Crowther, 41st Regiment, had the charge of two Three pounders that accompanied the movements of our little Corps, and they were employed with very good effect. Capt's Dennis and Williams, Commanding the Flank Companies of the 49th Reg't which were stationed at Queenstown were wounded whilst bravely contending at the head of their men, against superior numbers; the former fortunately for the service, was not obliged to quit the field. Captain Williams was wounded in the head, but not severely.

Captain Derenzy of the 41st Reg't brought up the Reinforcement of that Corps from Fort George, & Captain Bullock led that of the same Reg't from Chippawa— and under their command those detachments acquitted themselves in such a manner as to sustain the reputation which this Regiment had already acquired in the vicinity of Detroit.

Captain Glegg Aid de Camp to our lamented friend and General, afforded me most essential assistance; and I found the services of Lt. Fowler 41st Reg't, Ass't Dep'y Qr. Ms. General and of my Aid de Camp Ensign Coffin, very useful. I derived much aid too from the activity and intelligence of

1. Official reports, and estimates on the losses at Queenston, vary greatly. Lossing, drawing from official reports, gives the American loss at 90 killed, "about 100 wounded and between 800 and 900 made prisoners." The British loss in killed, wounded and prisoners was about 130. The Indian loss appears to be nowhere clearly reported, but was probably light.

Lt. Kerr of the Glengary Fencibles, whom I employed in conveying Orders to the Indians and other flanking parties.

Major General Brock, soon after his arrival at Queenston, had sent orders for battering the American Fort Niagara. The operations against it were directed by Brigade Major Evans, who had been left in charge of Fort George—this was executed with so much effect as to silence its fire and to force the Troops to abandon it. In these services he was most effectually aided by Colonel Claus who remained at Fort George by my desire: and by Captain Vigoureaux, of the Royal Engineers. Brigade Major Evans also commends highly the conduct of Captains Powell & Cameron of the Militia Artillery who assisted at the Batteries.

Lieu't Colonels Butler & Clark, and Captains Hatt, Durand, Applegate,¹ Crooks, Rowe, Cameron, Cooper, R. Hamilton & McEwen, & Lts. Richardson & T. Butler, of the Lincoln and York Militia, led their men with great spirit. Norton was wounded but not badly—he and the Indians distinguished themselves.

I shall do myself the honor of transmitting to Your Excellency further details, when I shall have received the several Reports of the occurrences of the day that did not pass under my observation, with the Returns of casualties, of arms and ordnance stores, taken &c; but I cannot now deny myself the satisfaction of assuring Your Excellency that the spirit and good conduct of His Majesty's Troops, of the Militia, and of the other Provincial Corps, were eminently conspicuous on this occasion.

To His Ex'y Lt. Gen'l Sir GEO. PREVOST, Bart.

ARMISTICE AFTER QUEENSTON.

FORT GEORGE, 13 Oct. 1812.

SIR: I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of Your Communication of this date,² and was pleased to learn at the same time, that the Officer Command'g at Queenstown

1. "Applegarth" in Cruikshank.

2. Several letters which passed between Sheaffe and Van Rensselaer are printed in Mrs. Bonney's "Legacy of Historical Gleanings," vol. 1, pp. 264-5. This letter is there given, with the communication referred to.

had acceded to Your proposal of sending Surgeons to that Post for the aid of wounded prisoners, without incurring the delay which would have been occasioned by a reference to me; but as our means of affording assistance to these as well as to our own wounded may be inadequate, I beg leave to propose that the wounded prisoners whose cases may admit of removal, should be sent over to You, on condition of not serving again until regularly exchanged.

Though the proposition which I had the honor of making to you to-day, did not go to the extent that, by some mistake, you were led to suppose, Yet I readily concur with you in agreeing to a cessation of firing for three days, and I transmit orders to that effect to the officers commanding at the several Posts on this line.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Major Gen'l Com'g.

Major Gen'l V. RENSSELAER.

OPERATIONS, CIVIL AND MILITARY.

FORT GEORGE, 13th Oct'r 1812.

SIR: There is so urgent a necessity for my remaining here at present, that it becomes highly expedient that a Council should be summoned to assemble at this place to administer the necessary oaths to me, prior to my assuming the exercise of the Civil Government: if you, Sir, and the honourable Members of the Council at York concur with me in this opinion, I beg that you will be pleased to direct such steps to be taken therein as may be deemed necessary for accelerating the execution of the measure.

The wind opposes the departure of the *Moir* and *Simcoe*, which I had intended to send over to York, but being thus detained I have decided that they shall go direct for Kingston as soon as the wind will permit;—indeed if it continues tomorrow as it is, it will be necessary to tow them out of the River, as the Armistice concluded between M. General Van Rensselaer and myself will expire at four O'Clock tomorrow afternoon and I have reason to believe that his successor in the command B. Gen'l Smyth will com-

mence active operations not long after that Period. I expect the *Prince Regent* and intend to send her over to York to receive you and the other Members whose presence may be necessary here with the Clerk of the Council &c, but should an unlooked for change in the state of public affairs permit My absence from hence when that vessel may arrive I shall embark in her and proceed to York with all possible despatch.

I have the Honor to be, Sir, Your very devoted servant

R. H. SHEAFFE,
M. Gen'l &c

[*Not addressed.*]

SHEAFFE TO PREVOST.

FORT GEORGE, 14 Oct'r, 1812.

SIR: I have the honor of enclosing herewith some further details which will furnish additional information on the operations of yesterday. I now learn that the number of prisoners exceed¹ eight hundred, and more may yet be expected. I propose sending 150 of the Line over to York for the present in the schooner *Simcoe*, the only vessel here: and I have reason to expect the arrival of some vessels from York and Kingston, by which I shall send down the prisoners (of the line) without loss of time.

I beg leave to add to my despatch of yesterday, that Volunteers Shaw, Thompson and Jarvis, attached to the Flank Companies of the 49th Reg't conducted themselves with great spirit; the first was wounded, and the last taken prisoner. I beg leave to recommend these young men to Your Ex'y's notice. The copies of my letters to Major General Van Rensselaer will sufficiently explain the nature of his communications to me. I hope that Your Excellency will approve of what I have done and proposed. I have not been able to ascertain yet the number of our Troops or of those of the Enemy engaged. Our[s] I believe did not exceed the number of the Prisoners we have taken, and theirs probably amounted to thirteen or fourteen hundred.

I shall be anxious to receive Your Excellency's instruc-

1. "They exceeded 900; my number was 740."—*Note in original MS.*

tions. I am sensible that I am placed in an arduous situation which will require both your aid and indulgence.

I have the honor, &c.,

P. S. Lt. Colonel Macdonell, a young man of distinguished merit, died this morning.

SHEAFFE TO VAN RENSSELAER.

FORT GEORGE, 14th October, 1812.

SIR: Having delayed sending my accompanying Letter, to give General Wadsworth and the other officers who are prisoners, an opportunity of writing for some necessary Articles, I have the honor at the same time to propose an Exchange of prisoners, including those who were taken some days ago in the two vessels cut out from Fort Erie harbour: I have further to propose, Sir, that the Militia taken prisoners exceeding the number that may be exchanged, shall be restored to their homes and families under an engagement not to serve against Great Britain or her allies during the War, or until regularly exchanged.

I am &c

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Maj'r Gen'l Comm'g

Major General V. RENSSELAER.

FROM VAN RENSSELAER, AFTER THE BATTLE.

HEAD QUARTERS, LEWISTON, 14 Oct. 1812.

SIR: Agreeably to your proposition, verbally communicated last night to Captain Dox, I send Surgeons for the purpose proposed.

And I have now to request that an officer and detach-

ment of Men sufficient for the purpose may be permitted to bring the dead over the River in Boats.

I am, Sir,

With Great Respect, Your most Obt Servt

S. V. RENSSELAER,
Major Genl &c.

P. S. I have to request also, permission to send the Officers their Baggage & Cash.

Major General ISAAC BROCK, or Officer Comg, Queenstown.

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, LEWISTOWN, 15th Oct. 1812.

SIR: Captn Dox, whom I yesterday sent to Fort George to make the necessary arrangement for an Exchange of Prisoners, being assigned for other duty this day, I now send Col. Winder to complete the business, and I flatter myself there will be no objection to this distribution.

Col. Winder is further instructed to communicate to you my wishes upon several subjects; and by any stipulation which he may enter into respecting them I shall be governed.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedt servt,

V. RENSSELAER.
Major Gen. Com.

M. Gen. SHEAFFE, or Officer Commg, Fort George.

THE ARMISTICE PROLONGED.

FORT GEORGE, 16th Octr, 1812.

SIR: I feel too strongly the generous tribute you propose to pay my departed friend and chief, to be able to express the sense I entertain of it; noble-minded as he was, so would he have done himself.

I have directed the prolongation of the armistice until

four o'clock in the afternoon of the nineteenth Inst. to be communicated along this line.

I feel a perfect confidence, Sir, that nothing will be omitted on your part to assure a strict execution of the agreement respecting the Militia Officers and Men as well as any others, not yet exchanged who are released from their captivity.

Allow me, Sir, to express a hope that the time is not far distant when the restoration of peace and amity between our respective countries may afford me an opportunity of assuring you personally of the respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Most Obedient and very devoted Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE,
M. Genl &c. &c.

M. General V. RENSSELAER.

NOTE: M. Genl Van R. (a Gentleman by birth, and in manners as well as sentiments) & Sir R had previously become acquainted in the United States. [*Note in original.*]

VAN RENSSELAER TO SHEAFFE.

HEAD QUARTERS, LEWISTON, 16th Oct. 1812.

SIR: I have this moment had the honor to receive your two Letters of this date.

I most cheerfully agree to continue the cessation of hostilities for a time amply sufficient to discharge all duties of Humanity to the brave who are wounded, or prisoners; and the just tribute of respect to the gallant dead.

For these purposes I agree to the further cessation of hostilities until four o'clock in the afternoon of the nineteenth instant.

I shall order a Salute, for the Funeral of Major General Brock, to be fired this afternoon, both here, and at Niagara.

You will please accept, Sir, of the grateful acknowledgments of Colonel Van Rensselaer and myself for your kind offer of any thing in your power which may contribute to his comfort. I do not know that he is at present destitute of any thing essential for him.

As this, Sir, will probably be the last communication I shall have the honor of transmitting you from this station, I avail myself of the opportunity to tender you the assurance of my Very great esteem and Respect,

S. V RENSSELAER,
Major Genl &c.

Major Gen'l SHEAFFE.

(The Col. their adgt Gen'l was wounded.)

THE ARMISTICE PROLONGED.¹

HEAD QUARTERS, FORT GEORGE, 16 Oct. 1812.

SIR: As the period assigned to the cessation of hostility is drawing to a termination, and the intended exchange of Prisoners, and sending over of the wounded and the Militia, will require much more time than now remains of it;

And as moreover part of this day is to be devoted to paying the last offices of humanity to the remains of my late brave and lamented friend, Major General Brock, I feel it to be my duty to propose a prolongation of the Armistice to such a period as may be necessary for the complete execution of those humane purposes. Lists are prepared of all the prisoners here, distinguishing those of the Line, from the Militia: and Major Evans who has been appointed by me to arrange the business with Captain Dox, will be ready to proceed on it as soon as that officer comes over.

I have the honor &c

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Major Gen'l &c &c

Major General VAN RENSSELAER

TO SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

FORT GEORGE, 17th Oct'r, 1812.

SIR: Since I did myself the Honor of addressing to Your Excellency my reports of the 13th and 14th of this

1. Printed in the Appendix of S. Van Rensselaer's "Narrative of the Affair of Queenstown," etc.

month, which I sent by land to Kingston, a cessation of hostilities until the 19th Instant at four o'clock in the afternoon, has been agreed on between M. General Van Rensselaer and myself, for the purpose of affording sufficient time for carrying into effect the proposed exchange of Prisoners, the removal of those wounded, and for the passing over the Militia Prisoners; some portion of time, too, was necessary for preparing and performing the ceremony of paying the last tribute of respect to our lamented Chief; in that, M. Gen'l Van Rensselaer, with a generosity highly honorable to his character, joined, by ordering a Salute to be fired both at Niagara and Lewiston, at the time of the funeral. The proposition for the prolongation of the armistice was mutual. Colonel Winder intimated to me that it was one of the points on which he had received instructions, and my letter on the subject had been sent off just before his arrival.

The *Simcoe* has returned from York after lodging one hundred and fifty Prisoners there, and the *Earl of Moira* having arrived from thence, the remainder of the Prisoners will be embarked in her tomorrow morning at daylight, the two vessels are then to go back to York to reembark them at that place in the *Simcoe* and will then proceed together to Kingston.

All the Militia Prisoners have been sent across today, who are not too severely wounded to be removed. I have permitted B. Gen'l Wadsworth to go on his parole, though as commander of the whole, he could hardly be considered as merely a Militia Officer; but from the insight which I have obtained into his sentiments and character I believe his going with the Militia will not only tend to ensure a strict execution of the agreement in what regards them, but will in other respects, produce some benefit in the actual state of things.

B. General Wadsworth having requested of me as a particular favor to permit Major I. R. Mullaney and Capt'n P. Ogilvie to go back on their parole, there being particular circumstances in the state of their families to render it of the most essential importance to them, I have assented. I trust that Your Excellency will not find anything in the measures I have adopted with regard to the Prisoners but what both humanity and policy would dictate. The Prisoners that we are to get in exchange are those who were

taken in the *Detroit* and *Caledonia*, and a few taken early on the thirteenth in *Queenstown*. Your Excellency will see by the returns of killed and wounded and Prisoners, that the Flank companies of the 49th Reg't have suffered most, this was owing to their having borne the brunt of the action from its commencement, at times contending with the most courageous obstinacy against far superior numbers:—After Cap't Williams commanding the Light Company was wounded, which was rather early in the Day, the charge of the company devolved on Ensign E'd Danford, who led it in a manner highly creditable to him. Mr. Wilkinson a volunteer in the 41st Reg't was in the action and is reported to me to have behaved with great spirit.

I have requested Captain Glegg of the 49th Reg't to act with me as an Extra Aide de Camp, until your pleasure respecting him should be known: as there is no officer here of the Adjutant General department, may I be permitted to suggest that he might be employed with much benefit to the service as Acting Deputy Adj't General.

Conformably with your Excellency commands I have issued an order for a Court to assemble at Kingston to enquire into Major Heathcote's conduct in the command of an escort of batteaux when attacked on the 16th of Sept'r below Prescott. I have named Col. Vincent as Presi'd't and directed one Major and one Capt'n to be these members.

Lieut. King of the Royal Artillery arrived here in the *Moira*, and knowing that it was M. Gen'l Brock's intention to employ him under the direction of Capt'n Holcroft and that his services as an officer of Artillery are at this time indispensably necessary I have for the present placed him under Capt'n Holcroft's orders.

I received a communication yesterday by which I learn that M. Gen'l Van Rensselaer has given up the command of the Enemy's force on the other side to B. Gen'l Smyth.

I learn from several sources that the American Militia Men belonging to the Corps that attacked *Queenstown* came over with reluctance, and in many instances were forced by violence into the boats. I have also heard since writing my first despatch, that many of the Enemy were drowned, and that a considerable number of killed and wounded were conveyed over to their side:—but notwithstanding their loss on that day, I have received an intimation that they intend repeating the attack in a very few days, though at some

other point, and it is signified that our left Flank will be their object. They received some reinforcements on the day of the action, and other troops have since joined them. I have called in more of the Militia, and have sent to Grand River for an addition to our number of Indians.

I have the honor of transmitting the Returns of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, and of Arms, ordnance, Stores &c taken from the Enemy.

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's most obed't
hum'le Ser't

R. H. SHEAFFE,
M. Gen'l Comm'g.

P. S. I have the honor of transmitting Captain Dennis's interesting report of the early transactions of the 13th instant at Queenstown. he is silent about his wound: he mentions volunteers Shaw and Thompson, only, they being attached to his company. Mr. Jarvis was with Captain Williams company.

R. H. SHEAFFE, M. G.

AN EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

FORT GEORGE, Oct. 17th, 1812.

B. Genl Wadsworth being desirous of having Lieut. S. M. Smith exchanged for the Indian Chief in your possession I assent to it, and I further agree to Mr. John Smith the brother of Major G. Smith being included with him in the exchange.

M. Genl VAN RENSSELAER.

FORT GEORGE, 17 Oct. 1812.

SIR: I have the honor of forwarding a note addressed to you, which Brigadier General Wadsworth has delivered to me. I avail myself of the opportunity to request that I may be informed at what time I may expect the prisoners in your power at Lewistown and Buffalo to be sent over,

and if anything remains to be done on my part to accelerate the execution of the agreement for their exchange.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Major General &c.

Brigadier Gen'l SMYTH.

Note of B[rig.] G[en.] WADSWORTH.

NEWARK, Oct. 17th, 1812.

SIR: Major I. R. Mullany & Cap't Peter Ogilvie Jun'r have families, and are not in the most pleasant situation to leave. I shall receive it as a real favor if you will permit them to return on Parole.

I have the honor to be

Your very humble serv't

(signed) WM. WADSWORTH,
Brig. General.

Major Gen'l SHEAFFE.

TO GEN. SMYTH, REGARDING EXCHANGES.

FORT GEORGE, 17 Oct. 1812.

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of Your note of this date, and regret that I have made a proposition to you that you find it necessary to reject—especially as it was made at the particular request of Brigadier General Wadsworth: As that has failed I presume that the prior agreement respecting the Indian in Question, which was entered into by Colonel Winder still retains its force, and that the Indian will be sent back tomorrow. Not having yet heard of the return of the prisoners who were to be sent over from Buffalo or Black Rock early this morning, according to the assurance given by Colonel Winder, and for whom Prisoners have already been sent as an exchange, I request if they have been inten-

tionally detained, that you will be pleased to inform me of the cause.

Mr. Hamilton, who has been some time detained at Buffalo, has Brothers and other near relations in this vicinity who have heard some accounts of the state of his health by which they are much alarmed. I therefore permit one of his brothers to go over with a Flag to Buffalo, to obtain some information of him; and I beg leave to propose that Mr. Hamilton shall be allowed to return to his friends—an officer of a Rank that may be deemed equivalent being released from his parole and given in exchange for him.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE
Major Gen'l Comm'g.

Brigadier General Smyth

AN INDIAN PRISONER.

HEAD QUARTERS, LEWISTOWN, 17 Oct. 1812.

SIR: A letter addressed by you to Major Gen'l Van Rensselaer has been put into my hands, wherein you propose to Exchange a Lieu't of Militia and a private, for an Indian Savage taken a prisoner by our troops.

I regret receiving from you a proposition to which I cannot accede.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,
Your most obt

ALEXANDER SMYTH
Brig'r Gen'l Comm'g.

Gen'l R. H. SHEAFFE.

RELATIVE VALUE OF PRISONERS.

FORT GEORGE 18 Oct. 1812.

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of Your communication by Captain King, Assistant Inspector General.

That there was nothing said of the Indian Chief in the agreement respecting an Exchange of prisoners, signed by Colonel Winder and Major Evans, was owing to a supposition on the part of the latter, that the case was already provided for by a special agreement between Colonel Winder and myself: that an Indian was taken prisoner, having been mentioned in conversation, before those two Officers began the discussion of the subject on which they were to treat. With regard to your proposition to exchange the Indian Chief for the men, women, and children taken at Chicago, or such of them as may survive: I infinitely regret, Sir, that it is not in my power to restore them all without any conditions. In the operations against that place, neither the British Government, nor the influence of its officers, nor a British Force was concerned, or probably your present proposition would be needless. I must therefore disclaim any authority to make stipulations regarding them; but whatsoever may be in my power towards obtaining the restoration of the survivors to their friends, I shall most joyfully do, unconnected with the present subject of discussion.

There are circumstances, perhaps, in Mr. Hamilton's case, that I am not qualified to discuss, and as I am anxious for his returning into the bosom of a family that has suffered so much on his account, I am willing to grant more than what perhaps ought to be deemed an equivalent for him.

The late Commander of the *Detroit*, belonging to the Provincial Marine, ranks with us only as a Lieu't of Regular Troops. Mr. Molloy's rank is inferior to that of a Lieu't; but, Sir, I am desirous that the opening of a correspondence between us should be marked by a spirit of liberality, conformably with which I propose that for

Mr. Hamilton

Lt. Rolette Comm't

Lt. Kerr

Mr. Molloy

and the Indian Chief¹—these should be returned to you:

1. That these prisoners were regarded as of exceptional importance, is shown by the terms of the exchange. The present editor has not identified Mr. Hamilton or the Indian chief. The former may have been George Hamilton, who was living at Newark (now Niagara, Ont.) in 1812; because he deemed

Two Captains of Regular Troops, the two Lieu'ts you have named, and Lieut. Smith who took the Indian Chief, and the Mr. Smith, already offered with him—or a Major of Militia as originally proposed—or if you have any substitute to name, I beg, Sir, you will make it known to me.

As my sentiments perfectly accord with those you express in the opening of your proposal for continuing the armistice, I assent to its being prolonged indefinitely, each party having a right to terminate it, giving thirty hours previous notice.

I am extremely sorry to learn that a British Prisoner has been so indiscreet as to render himself liable to punishment. I hope that he has erred from ignorance, and that an inquiry into the case will satisfy you that it was so.

I have the honor &c

R. H. SHEAFFE *M. G. Comm'g.*

Brig'r Gen'l SMYTH.

GEN. SHEAFFE TO SIR GEORGE PREVOST.

FORT GEORGE, 19th Oct'r, 1812.

SIR: After writing my despatch of yesterday, I received a proposition from Brigadier Gen'l Smyth, commanding on the United States frontier, for prolonging the

this frontier town an unsafe place of residence he removed to the head of Lake Ontario; the city of Hamilton perpetuates his name. However, no record is found of his having been made prisoner by the Americans. "Lt. Kerr" was Lt. Walter Kerr of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles. James Molloy, "conductor of King's stores," was a prisoner in the hands of the Americans at this time. The "Lt. Rolette" mentioned was Frederick Rolette, a British sailor who had served in the battle of the Nile and at Trafalgar; in 1807 he was appointed to the Provincial Marine, and when the war opened in 1812 he was made a lieutenant and given command of the brig *Hunter*. He was in command of the brig *Detroit*, off Fort Erie, when she was captured by Capt. Jesse D. Elliott, Oct. 9, 1812. Ensign Kerr (afterwards lieutenant) was with him and both were taken prisoners by the Americans. (Canadian Archives, C. 728, pp. 151-8.) Rolette is the hero of several exploits on the Lakes. He fought under Barclay in the battle of Lake Erie, in which he was wounded and taken prisoner, when—as he states, in a petition for half pay, Oct. 8, 1816, he "remained a prisoner of war for near twelve months, a considerable part of which time he was held as an hostage by the American Government and kept in close confinement." He was afterwards presented with a sword by the citizens of Quebec, his home city, where he died in 1831. His career calls for a more full and satisfactory memoir of him than appears to have been written.

armistice indefinitely, either party having a right to terminate it, giving thirty hours notice to the other party, to which I have acceded, as it corresponds with the system adopted on our part, and removes the obstacle of my going over to York—the wind has not permitted the departure of the second (and last) division of the Prisoners—but it seems now inclined to be favorable for it, and they are embarking in the *Moir*a and *Simcoe* to proceed for Kingston. Lt. Colonel Myers reports on the subject to Colonel McDonell.

I am informed that Captain Loring of the 104th Regiment (late Lt. of the 49th) has arrived at Montreal: I shall feel much obliged to Your Excellency to permit his joining me, as he came out with the expectation of being appointed my Aide de Camp. If my request cannot be granted, I beg leave to recommend him to Your Excellency as well qualified for the staff appointment suitable to his rank, should there be a vacancy.

I this moment learn that the *Prince Regent* is coming in—I shall embark in her without delay and proceed to York, and as I intend sending this despatch from thence by land, I shall close it there.

[Unsigned.]

SMYTH AGREES TO THE EXCHANGE.

HEAD QUARTERS,
CAMP NEAR LEWISTOWN, Oct. 19th, 1812.

SIR: I have received your Letter of yesterday, and close with all your propositions.

You will be pleased to give liberty to Captain Gibson, Capt. Machesney, Lieu't Totten, Lieutenant Randolph, Lieutenant Smith, and Mr. Smith.

The prisoners at this place you will receive today and orders have gone by express, for the release of those at Buffalo.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, Your most obt.

ALEXANDER SMYTH
Brig'r General Comm'g.

Major General SHEAFFE.

PRESIDENT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

YORK, 20th Oct'r.

I arrived here last night and found the *Moira* and *Simcoe* here, the wind having forced them to put in.

The Executive Council assembled today and I was sworn in as a Member of it and afterwards as President, which I have communicated to Earl Bathurst in a despatch that accompanies.

The Vessel that was supposed to be the *P. R.*¹ proved to be the *Royal George*, in which I came over. That ship has taken on board the Prisoners that had been sent to this place and, with the *Moira* and *Simcoe*, has just sailed for Kingston. The *P. R.* arrived here this evening and I shall return to Fort George in that vessel tomorrow.

I have the honor to be

Y[our] E[xcellency's] &c
[no signature]

H[is] E[xcellency]
Sir G. PREVOST²

A COMPLAINT FROM FORT NIAGARA.

FORT NIAGARA, Oct. 20th, 1812.

SIR: It is with great regret I find it necessary that my first communication to you since I am in command at this place should be that of complaint.

A Boat was passing down the river under this shore from Lewistown to this place for the humane purpose of removing by water some wounded Militia Officers who had crossed the River on parole. In passing Fort George she is pursued by a Boat from that Fort with a British Officer on Board, who finally compels the Boat to cross the River to that Fort, and after some detention has permitted her to proceed.

I learn from the Officer in charge of our Boat that the

1. *Prince Regent.*

2. The message to Earl Bathurst referred to in this note is not contained in Gen. Sheaffe's letter-book, but it is preserved in the Canadian Archives. (Q. 315, p. 205.)

alleged cause of detention was, that it was contrary to the stipulations of the armistice to pass up or down the River in Boats for either party. I have no knowledge that any such stipulation exists, nor can I well conceive either party should propose or agree to it.

I beg you would immediately afford me the necessary explanations on this subject. I view it as an infraction of the Armistice, and consider it the more serious as it was committed at the spot where you reside.

I have the honor to be with due Respect Your obt. Servant

WM. H. WINDER
Col. Com'g.

Major General SHEAFFE

COL. MYERS EXPLAINS.

FORT GEORGE, 20 October, 1812.

SIR: Major General Sheaffe being just now on another part of the line, I have opened your letter addressed to him; without waiting a reference to him. I lose not an instant to assure you, that the detention of the Boat which was passing down the River to your Fort, for the wounded officers of the Militia of the U. S., as has been agreed on by the American Medical Gentleman sent over here to ascertain the state of your wounded, and myself, was the unauthorized act of an individual, whom I have already made sensible of his error: he however states to me that the Boat was passing down, much nearer to our shore than appeared necessary.

I have &c

C. MYERS,
Lt. Col., D'y Q'r M'r General.

Col. WINDER
Comm'g Fort Niagara.

FORT GEORGE, 25th October, 1812.

SIR: I transmit herewith a letter which I have received from Edward Couche, Esq., Deputy Commissary General,

in consequence of which I have made the appointments recommended by him, with the rates of pay noted in the margin of his letter.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE,
M. Gen'l.

NOAH FREER, *Esq.*
Military Secretary, Montreal.

FORT GEORGE, 25th October, 1812.

SIR: I transmit herewith some intelligence recently obtained, that from Lieutenant Rolette is interesting as it relates to the designs of the Enemy on our vessels on the Lakes, and the means for executing them.

Lieutenant Colonel Myers sends to Colonel Macdonell, Lieutenant Rolette's Report of the Capture of the *Detroit*, and other information relative to the Marine Department.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE,
M. Gen'l, &c.

NOAH FREER, *Esq.*, Montreal.

TO STRENGTHEN THE BRITISH FORCE.

FORT GEORGE, 26 Oct'r, 1812.

SIR: I have been honored with your Excellency's despatch of the 19th of this month, with its several enclosures, apprising me of the addition of two Companies of the Glengary levy and of two Gun Boats, which you have been pleased to make to the force employed for the protection of the communication of the River, and, also, of the appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Pearson to the command of the Lower District of this Province.

As I conceive that Colonel Procter has a claim to remuneration on account of the increase of duty and of expense brought upon him by the administration of the Government of the Michigan territory, I shall do myself the honor of addressing a particular representation on the subject to your Excellency.

The ascendancy of our Marine on the Lakes cannot, in my opinion, be maintained, but by the adoption of the measure which your Excellency has recommended to His Majesty's Ministers. It will be seen from Lieutenant Rolette's information that the Enemy is acting on that principle.

An augmentation of the Artillery on this Line is particularly desirable, it being necessary to employ too great a proportion of Militia men with that description of our force: the original selection of them was in many instances injudicious, and I am endeavoring to make some beneficial changes.

I am still without intelligence from Colonel Procter.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE, *Major Gen'l.*

His Excellency

Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bar't

INDIAN DEPARTMENT APPOINTMENTS.

FORT GEORGE, 25th Oct., 1812.

SIR: I have laid your letter of the 24th of this month before the President, and I am commanded by His Honor to inform you, that he is pleased to approve of your recommendation of the following persons to fill the situations in the Indian Department at this Post, annexed to their several names.

J. B. Rousseau, Resident and Captain at...	10/—	pr day
Benjamin Fairchild, Lieu't & Interpreter..	7/6	"
Peter Fairchild, Assistant Storekeeper.....	2/6	"
William I. Chew, Lieutenant.....	5/—	"
George Martin, Assistant Interpreter.....	5/—	"

Pay to commence from this date inclusive.

The President has been further pleased to approve of the appointment of James Cooper, to succeed Barnabas Cain, as Indian Black-smith, the latter of whom from his long services and great age, His Honor permits to retire

from that situation on a pension of two shillings and six pence a day.

I have the honor to be &c

N. COFFIN,
A. D. C.

The Hon'ble Colonel CLAUS

REMUNERATION FOR COL. PROCTER.

FORT GEORGE, 27 October, 1812.

SIR: I have the honor of representing to your Excellency that a great increase of duty and of expense has been brought upon Colonel Procter by his administering the Government of the conquered Territory of Michigan: I therefore beg leave to offer the case to your Excellency's consideration and to recommend that Colonel Procter shall be allowed a remuneration of twenty shillings a day, or such other sum as may be deemed adequate for the whole period of his administering that Government.

I have the honor to be,

R. H. SHEAFFE
Major Gen'l

Sir GEORGE PREVOST

WATCHING THE AMERICANS.

FORT GEORGE, 31 Oct'r, 1812.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I was ordered to this place from Detroit by Colonel Procter on the 24th inst. to ascertain whether the Enemy had cut off the communication between the two places, as from Colonel Procter's not having received any official account of an action which he heard had been fought at Queenston on the 13th inst., he had reasons to believe it was the case: and as I rec'd my information relating to it, on which I could depend, I was ordered to transmit it to him. Colonel Procter ordered me to inform you that Colonel Elliott was going out to the foot of the Miami's Rapids with about

three or four hundred Indians, and on their arrival there, they were to be joined by more. Their object in going was to watch the movements of the Americans (who were fortifying themselves about two miles above Fort Defiance on the Glaize River) and, if they could do it with advantage, to attack them. From their having been so long in their present position, Colonel Procter does not imagine that it is their intention to advance any further into the country this year. Colonel Procter also ordered me to say that he was at a large Indian Council at Amherstburg, a few days before I left Detroit, and the Indians all seemed unanimously inclined to support us.

I have the honor to be &c

J. BARNARD, Lt. 41st Reg't.

Major General SHEAFFE

RETURNS CALLED FOR.

Copy to each

FORT GEORGE, 31st October, 1812.

SIR: I have it in command from Major General Sheaffe, to request you will make a return of the number of Artillery men that have been obtained since the last Return, and what addition to that Number may be expected.

I have the honor to be &c

N. COFFIN,
Ens'n A. D. C.

Major Gen'l SHAW
Lt. Colonel CLARK

CANADIAN MILITIAMAN REFUSES DUTY.

FORT GEORGE, 1st Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I have it in command from M. Gen'l Sheaffe to request you will Report, whether Philip Wills ever took the Oath of Allegiance, and of what country he is—what cause Joseph Badgely assigns for refusing to take the oath of

allegiance and do duty as a Militia man, and whether Wills & Badgely have land in this Province.

The Major General also desires to be informed if P. Wills and G. Fallow were tried by a Regimental Court Martial for the crime of *desertion*, and if so, under what clause of the Militia Act they were so tried and sentenced to pay a fine.

I have &c

N. COFFIN,
Ens. A. D. C.

Lieut. Col. CLARK

EXCHANGE VALUE OF AN INDIAN CHIEF.

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTRE CAMP NEAR LEWISTOWN [? 1 Nov. 1812].

SIR: Your Letter dated yesterday I have this Moment had the Honor to receive.

In the agreement respecting an Exchange of Prisoners signed by Col. Winder & Major Evans, there is nothing said of the Indian Chief, but any verbal agreement entered into by Colonel Winder will be fulfilled.

Colonel Winder addressed a Note to Gen'l Vanrensselaer stating that you estimated the Indian Chief as equal to a Militia Major, and requesting instructions.

I propose to Exchange the Indian Chief for the 26 Men, 7 women, & 6 children taken at Chicago, or such of them as were not butchered.

The Prisoners at Buffalo have not been intentionally detained, the transfer of command has prevented the order being given.

The conduct of Mr. Hamilton, particularly in attempting to cross to Canada by Night and alone, would justify us in treating him as a spy, but willing to proceed in a liberal manner I accept your proposals for his Exchange, the delicacy of his situation, & the importance of his connexion, will justify me in estimating him as a Captain of Regular Troops.

For the Master Commandant of the *Detroit*, alias *Adams*, I expect a Captain of Regulars in Exchange, I

think he ranks so by your Regulations, for Mr. Carr [*sic*: Kerr] Lt. of Marines & Mr. Mulroy [*sic*: Molloy] you will please to release Lt. Totten & Randolph.

I am very sorry that the Moment I am writing this Despatch, a British Prisoner is found exploring the camp. I have placed him in close confinement.

As I am averse to taking a single life or occasioning a single calamity, without an object, I propose a further continuance of the armistice indefinitely, each party having a right to terminate it, giving thirty Hours notice to the other party, the armistice to extend along the frontier from the Lake Erie to Lake Ontario.

I have &c

(*Gen'l*) ALEX SMYTH
B. *Gen'l*, *Commdg*

Major *Gen'l* SHEAFFE.

SHEAFFE TO PREVOST—ATTACK EXPECTED.¹

FORT GEORGE, 3d Nov'r 1812.

SIR: I have at last the satisfaction of reporting to your Excellency the arrival of intelligence from Detroit, and likewise from Michillimackinac. His Majesty's schooner *Lady Prevost*, arrived some days since bringing Mr. Robert Dickson and Mr. Crawford. When they left Detroit, no other information had been received of the occurrences of the 13th of October, than that Major General Brock had fallen, and Queenstown was in the possession of the Enemy. Colonel Procter fearing that the communication was cut off, would not send a written communication, either by them or by Colonel Caldwell or Lieut. Barnard, who have since arrived by land: the substance of what the last was directed to say to me is contained in a written statement herewith enclosed to which I have added Mr. Dickson's intelligence.

Whilst engaged in writing this despatch, Lieut. Colonel Bishop [*sic*] has arrived by the way of York and has brought me your Excellency's despatch of the 21st of October. I beg that your Excellency will accept my very

1. Printed in Cruikshank, *Doc. Hist.*, iv, 175-6, from the Canadian Archives.

grateful thanks for the kind and gracious manner in which you have noticed my humble services: fortune and the comparative composition of the Corps which I commanded were quite adequate to the accomplishment of all that was effected on the 13th of October. I am much mortified to find that I omitted the names of Captain Chisholm, commanding a flank company of the York Militia and of Lieut. Ball, commanding the Militia Artillery attached to the post of Queenstown. Captain Dennis's Report since transmitted, has partly supplied that omission: he commends highly both those officers, and in Justice to them, I have issued an Order acknowledging my omission and their merit.

I send to the Military Secretary some Documents relative to appointments which appear to me to be beneficial to His Majesty's service—those in the Barrack department were authorized by Major General Brock. I transmit also Major Heathcote's report of the attack made on the Escort under his command, not being certain that a copy of it has been before sent down.

The Enemy appears to be busily employed in preparing for another attack, and, I believe, has received reinforcements and supplies of various kinds. A number of large Boats has been conveyed up by land above the Falls, and are on the communication between Schlosser and Black Rock, where the greater part of their force seems to be collected. I have strengthened the Right of our line, and I intend detaching to it a portion of the Indians, of whom there are about four hundred here; but I shall be cautious of making any further diminution of the number on this flank.

I suspect that after their demonstration on the frontier of the Lower Province, a large portion of their Troops was withdrawn to act against the Upper Province.

We are yet employed in raising works for the protection of the interior of Fort George—the Magazine is considered secure from the effect of hot shot.

The Armistice still continues, and I hope will not be terminated before the arrival of the vessels with the supplies for the Militia, many of whom are in a very destitute state with respect to clothing and all in what regards bedding and Barrack Comforts in General—these wants cause

discontent and desertion, but the conduct of a great majority of them is highly honorable to them, and I have not failed to encourage it, by noticing it in Public Orders. Their number in this District has been so much increased since the nomination of a Paymaster for it, and his business is so much in arrear, that I have been compelled to appoint two other Paymasters for the Corps along this frontier.

I have the honor to be

R. H. SHEAFFE
Major Gen'l

His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST Bar't

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER TO COLONEL VINCENT, DATED FORT
GEORGE, 4TH NOVEMBER, 1812 (FROM G'L SHEAFFE).

"You will cause to be embarked and forwarded as soon as practicable, two Companies of the 49th Regiment, to consist of at least one hundred and ten effective Rank & file, with Officers & non-c'd Officers in proportion—if the average strength of the Companies be greater, the full number belonging to them is to be sent up—but sick, disabled &c are to be retained at Kingston. Also three companies of the Glengary levy, one of which is at present intended to be stationed at York. If the Commanding Officer and Staff of that Corps be at Kingston, their Head Quarters may for the present be established there: but their Major is to be with the Companies destined for this place. I hope that Major Clark will be in time at Kingston to come up with the Companies of the 49th Reg't, and also, some other Officers of that Corps, as well as the reinforcement of Artillery of a second Captain and fourteen men, which I learn is on its way to me:—Many more will yet be wanted, for we are deficient nearly one hundred of the number required to complete the Batteries and field Train. I take it for granted, that you have a portion of Your Militia trained for both.

"I approve of your causing an additional number of the Militia to be called out—Your means of defence may be required to their utmost extent. I approve, also, of your

fitting up as a Barrack, the Building you mention, if it should be wanted, and no less expensive plan can be adopted.

"Mr. Green, who is appointed to act as the Chief of the Commissariat in the lower District, will take the Estimates for Dundas, &c., to the 24th of August for correction.

"If you are satisfied that the Field Guns cannot perform the service which may be required of them without the addition of four more Horses, they may be employed: but in that as well as every other expense, it should be well ascertained that at least a corresponding benefit is obtained for His Majesty's service.

"I mean to send down 25 Rifles for Capt'n Sherwood, as provided by our Lamented friend and a 24 p'r for Prescott or elsewhere."

ASKS PROMOTION FOR CAPTAIN GLEGG.

FORT GEORGE, 5 November, 1812.

SIR: In justice to the memory of my deceased friend and predecessor, as well as to the merit of Captain Glegg, his surviving Aide-de-Camp, I cannot refrain from taking the liberty of recommending that Officer to Your Excellency's special protection, and of praying that you will be pleased to submit his claim to promotion to the Gracious consideration of His Royal Highness the Commander in chief.

I presume to ask this in the name of the gallant and able Chief under whom Captain Glegg contributed to the extraordinary success which was achieved at Detroit, and my testimony is already recorded, that he also afforded essential aid in the execution of the humble exploit which terminated the day on which his friend and General so gloriously fell in the cause of his King and Country.

I have the honor to be, &c

R. H. SHEAFFE
M. Gen'l

His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST

SHEAFFE TO CAPTAIN ROBERTS.

FORT GEORGE, 6 Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I have received Your letter of the 12th October, and from Colonel Procter a Copy of that to him of the 18th with which I had one from him, apprising me of his intention to send a further supply of provisions to you, though not so much as you had required, not being able to spare the whole quantity. I hope however, that you will receive enough to supply your wants till the next season—if there are any resources within your reach, and there be any risk of your being in need of the aid they might supply, lose no time in securing the benefit of them. I hope that Your Boat has returned long ere this—its long detention in consequence of being obliged to wait for aid from York, will, I trust, prove the only foundation for alarm.

The deserter Kelly is here—on his way down. The case of Parkes, and Magrath is reported to Head Quarters, from whence the decision on it must come—but I cannot refrain from observing that I do not think it probable that your detaining them for the purpose of doing duty will be approved of, especially after having received an Order to send them down.

I am glad to find that your neighbours of L'Arbre à croche¹ have changed their tone—the intelligence which you will receive with this of our Successes in Spain, and of the recent operations in this vicinity will tend to confirm them in their sentiments of good will towards us. For the rest I refer you to your friend Capt'n Glegg—and to the Brigade Major.

I was sworn in as President on the 20th Oct.

I am, Sir, your very humble Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE
M. Gen'l Comm'g &c

Captain ROBERTS

(comm. at the Post at the head of Lake Huron)

1. Early French settlement and Ottawa mission on Little Traverse bay, Lake Michigan, now Harbor Springs, Mich. Early records speak of two villages of Arbre Croche, but they were probably near each other. The name appears in many forms, in British officers' letters and reports—Arbiecroche, Arbicrook, etc.

APPOINTMENTS SUGGESTED.

FORT GEORGE, 6 Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I beg that you will lay before His Excellency the Commander of the Forces my Request that he will be pleased to appoint Brigade Major Evans, Acting Dep'y Adjutant General in this Province, and Captain Loring of the 104th Regiment, Brigade Major to the Forces in his stead.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE
M. Gen'l

Colonel BAYNES

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER TO COLONEL PROCTER DATED FORT
GEORGE, 6TH NOVEMBER, 1812.

"Your precautions with regard to provisions are highly prudent and commendable. I hope that the quantity you have sent to Capt'n Roberts (which you do not state) will prove sufficient with good management and an early attention to securing any supplies in his reach, which I have recommended to him in a letter going by York and Matchadosh. The Dep'y Commissary General will write to Mr. Gilmore on the subject of further supplies to Your District."

"Two Companies of the Glengary Corps are at Prescott, and six more I suppose by this time at Kingston, from whence I mean to draw three of them, and two Companies of the 49th. One of the Glengary is destined for York, the other two with those of the 49th are to be distributed on this frontier:— I am informed that some transports were in the River with Officers and men for the Reg'ts in the two Provinces— I may yet be able to send you a reinforcement: but the Enemy seems to be making formidable preparations for another attack."

"Colonel Nichol and his supplies are not yet arrived here. Lt. Col. Bisshopp, I. F. O. M. came up to Kingston with him, and, about eight days ago, left him to travel by land—the wind is now fair. I detain Lt. Barnard to carry any further intelligence that our next arrival may bring."

"I have represented your case, and propose 20/ a day for you, or such other sum as may be deemed a sufficient remuneration."

"If your wish about your Staff can be accomplished without detriment or risk to the service, I shall attend to it."

"The Armistice still continues here. I confide in your vigilance and Activity to obtain intelligence."

GEN. WADSWORTH'S PAROLE.

YORK, 8th November 1812.

SIR: I arrived here last night, having come over to execute some Provincial business, and I propose returning tonight to Fort George. I found Doctor Ridmound¹ here and was honored by him with Your Excellency's Dispatch of the 27th of October: It mortifies me extremely that my conduct with regard to the Prisoners, and in allowing B. General Wadsworth to go on his Parole with the rest of the Militia is not approved of by Your Excellency, in adopting it I was encouraged by motives of Duty, conceiving that it would be productive of Public benefit: a similar consideration influenced me in acceding to the Armistice, which I shall terminate as soon as it shall appear to me to cease to operate in our favour to such an extent as to justify it.

The *Moir* with Colonel Nichol on Board, and the *Simcoe* arrived yesterday at Fort George with stores of various kinds; every exertion was making for landing them speedily, and I gave directions for the immediate distribution of those Articles which the Militia particularly require.

The moment that an officer of the Artillery arrives at Fort George, Lieut. King shall be ordered to this Post, that his services may be devoted to the Marine Department.

I have directed an inquiry to be made into our Naval resources, and reports to be made thereon, preparatory to such exertions as Your Excellency may think proper to authorize in order to counteract the efforts of the Enemy,

1. So in MS.; probably should read "Redmond." This letter is in Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., iv, 186.

and to preserve the ascendancy of our Marine. Captain Earle reports in a Letter of Lt. Colonel Myers, that they are building "a large Vessel and several Gun Boats" at Sackets' Harbor.— elsewhere on this Lake, as well as on Lake Erie, similar exertions may be expected on the part of the Enemy.

EXTRACT OF LETTER TO COLONEL BAYNES DATED, YORK, 8TH
NOVEMBER, 1812.

MY DEAR COLONEL: "I came here yesterday to transact business of some importance and shall return as speedily as possible to Fort George;— Some of our supplies arrived there yesterday morning with Colonel Nichol.

"As I take for granted that Colonel Vincent reports to head Quarters any thing worthy of communication that occurs within his command, I do not repeat the intelligence he transmits to me.

"In one of my letters to His Excellency I have recommended B. Major Evans to be appointed to act as Dep'y Adj't General here, and Captain Loring as Brigade Major—and as B. Major Evans is so soon to be promoted, I would beg leave to substitute Capt'n Glegg for him in that department—but I find that he is desirous of succeeding him in what he holds and not in being recommended for that which he has not.

"Sir George is so good as to say that Captain Loring shall come up to me—when he arrives I shall try to make some arrangement to provide both for him and for Mr. Coffin.

"In ordering up some of the Troops from Kingston on the arrival of the Glengary Companies, I gave Colonel Vincent a discretionary power to detain a greater portion if the intelligence he may have of the Enemy's movements or designs should render it prudent to do so. There is a very fresh gale now from the Eastward to push those Companies on."

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO COLONEL VINCENT DATED, YORK,
8TH NOVEMBER, 1812.

"I am glad to learn that your Indians and party of Militia, escaped so much better from Grand Island than was at first reported—discreet and intelligent Officers should always be selected for such expeditions, on which too much caution and vigilance cannot be used—nothing can be more disgraceful to a party employed for the purpose of watching the movements of the Enemy than being surprised.

"Your favorable report of Colonel Ferguson and Mr. Anderson will induce me to accede to Colonel Claus's recommendation and authorise their being appointed Resident Captains and Interpreters at Kingston from the 25th October, which will be announced tho' you will find a reference to you respecting one if not both in a letter I wrote from Fort George.

"If the movements or designs of the Enemy should be ascertained to be such as to justify it, you may use a discretionary power with regard to the number to be detached from Kingston— I allude to my order for two Companies of the 49th & three of the Glengary levy to be forwarded to Fort George:— As to a force being sent from Niagara to Sackett's harbour in consequence of the armistice, it is not to be credited—if there were an armistice for a fixed period of sufficient duration to allow time for such an operation as that you mention it might be effected—but it would be as readily undertaken without any armistice as during one which may be terminated in thirty hours from any given moment: they have an advantage over us in their increasing means whilst ours are diminishing, and they must be fools indeed if they have not yet found out that our system is defensive, which adds still more to their power of annoyance.

"I take for granted that you make a direct report to Head Quarters at Montreal of every thing worthy of communication."

SHEAFFE TO PREVOST—MOVEMENT OF FORCES.

FORT GEORGE, 16th Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I was honored on the 14th Instant with your Excellency's dispatch of the 30th of Oct'r by Capt'n Loring; he, also, brought me a report from Co'l Vincent of the attack made on the *Royal George* in the port of Kingston by the Enemy's flotilla from Sackets harbour; though it retired without having effected much mischief, the attempt indicates great confidence in their strength, and, perhaps, was made with a view to discovering ours at that point, and the position of our batteries: the *Moira* sailed from York on the afternoon of the 11th Inst. and on the following day there was a fall of snow, with a fresh wind from the north west. I have therefore hopes of her having arrived at Kingston unmolested by the Enemy, who, probably, had thought it prudent to return to his own port: the *Moira* had on board a twenty four pounder captured at Detroit, with some ammunition for it. It was intended for Prescott, but if it fortunately arrive safe at Kingston, Colonel Vincent will no doubt think it prudent to detain it there. The wind has blown fresh from the North west for many Days, and has kept the *Prince Regent* here: a Rifle company is going over to York in that vessel, and I send in her the necessary aid for preparing a furnace for heating shot.

I transmit information recently received from the other side; the force of the Enemy is variously stated, but I believe it to be nearer the smallest than the greatest number assigned to it. Doct'r Redmond having completed his inspection of the Hospitals in this district, will proceed to York in the *Prince Regent*, and go down from thence by land. The *Lady Prevost* is reported to have arrived today from Detroit, the letters she may have brought are not yet come down; it is now late and I shall tomorrow add any intelligence I may receive by her

I have the honor to be Your Excellency's, Most ob't and Most Hum'l Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE
M. Gen'l Comm'g.

His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST.

RECOMMENDS COL. MYERS FOR PROMOTION.

FORT GEORGE, 17th Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I have the honour of transmitting to your Excellency an application from Lieut. Colonel Myers, Dep'y Quarter Master General, which cannot be more strongly supported than it deserves. During the period that he has acted with me on this frontier, I have been indebted in an eminent degree to his experience and exertions, and I beg leave to recommend his pretensions to Your Excellency's countenance and protection, feeling assured that the activity, zeal, talents and past services of that officer give him the highest claim to favour and consideration.

I have the honour to be Your Excellency's Most ob't and Most humble Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE.

[To Sir GEORGE PREVOST.]

FORT GEORGE, 18th Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I last night received Letters from Colonel Procter Copies of which I have the honor of forwarding to your Excellency.

I also transmit some intelligence received by Colonel Claus, in which there are Details not noticed in Colonel Elliot's Letter, to Lt. Colonel St. George.

I have the honor to be

R. H. SHEAFFE

To His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST

FORT GEORGE, 18th Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I transmit some documents, relative to the Marine establishment on the Lakes, to be laid before His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, for his consideration, and also a return of losses sustained by a Detachment of the Newfoundland Reg't on board of His Majesty's snow *Detroit*, when captured by the Enemy, as I conceive that conformably with the Regulation of the 1st of March 1796.

His Excellency's authority is necessary for the payment of the sum to indemnify the sufferers on that occasion.

I have the honor to be

R. H. SHEAFFE

To NOAH FREER, *Esq'r*,
Military Secretary,
 Quebec.

BRIG. GEN. SMYTH HEARD FROM.

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE CENTRE
 CAMP NEAR BUFFALOE 19th Nov'r 1812.

SIR: It becomes my duty to give you notice, that the Armistice agreed on to extend along the Frontier from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, will cease and determine on the Evening of tomorrow the 20th inst. at 9 o'clock.

Very respectfully Your most obed't

ALEXANDER SMYTH
Brig'r Gen'l Commanding

*To the Commanding officer
 at Fort Erie.*

FORT ERIE, Nov. 19th, 1812 12-1/2 p. m.

SIR: The enclosed I have received this moment, stating that the Armistice terminates on the Evening of tomorrow the 20th inst. at 9 o'clock.

I have the honor to be

A. ORMSBY,
Major 49th Reg't

To Major General SHEAFFE,
 Fort George.

JOY AT CESSATION OF ARMISTICE.¹

FORT GEORGE, 19th Nov. 1812.

SIR: I have the honor of acquainting your Excellency that about half past eight o'Clock this night, I received a

1. Printed from Canadian Archives, in Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., iv, 222.

Letter from Major Ormsby, Commanding at Fort Erie, dated at half past twelve this day,— enclosing a Letter addressed to *him* from Brigadier General Smyth, Commanding “The Army of the Centre” as he styles it, in which he announces that the Armistice is to terminate at “nine o’Clock tomorrow evening the 20th instant.”

The despatch which this accompanies was intended to go by Dr. Redmond in the *Prince Regent* to York, but the arrival from Detroit having given me some intelligence to add to it, and there being another vessel at my disposal, and the *Prince Regent* having on board what might be essential to the defence of York, the wind being fair, I allowed her to sail. Unfortunately the wind soon after shifted and has detained the other vessel, but if the wind should not prove favorable early in the morning, I shall send off an Express by Land.

Lt. Colonel Bisshopp returned this Evening from a second inspection of the Militia. He had heard on his way down of the approaching termination of the armistice, and imparted the intelligence to some of the Corps stationed on his route, who received it with strong marks of joy: but I should wish to have had possession first of some essential articles for them, that are yet at Kingston. Shoes particularly, of which, it unfortunately happens, that but a small portion has been brought up. I should have been glad too to have been joined by the Party of Artillery, before the Rupture of the Armistice. As it is, I almost despair of their coming here. Winter seems to have set in. A strong North west wind has been blowing nearly a fortnight, with the intermission only of the short period, which permitted the sailing of the *Prince Regent*.

Whatever may be the event of another conflict with the Enemy, I feel confident, that the Troops in general that I have the honor to command, will perform their Duty.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

R. H. SHEAFFE.

To His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST

AN EXCHANGE OF SHOT.

FORT GEORGE, 23rd Nov. 1812.

SIR: Having formed the resolution of opening a fire on Fort Niagara after the expiration of the Armistice, with a view to cripple it for a cooperation in any projected early attack on this Flank, and to create a diversion in favor of the other flank should the designs of the Enemy be directed against it, it being reported that his main body was assembled in front of it, preparations were accordingly made for the purpose and the fire was commenced on the morning of the 21st instant. I had previously set out for the right Flank, thinking that my presence might be more required there, those able officers Lt. Col. Myers and Captain Holcroft being here to conduct the operations, assisted by Brigade Major Evans, under whose direction they had been so successful on the 13th October. The Report which I have the honor of transmitting will inform your Excellency of the Events of the day; the advantage tho' not so great as might reasonably have been expected, is however on our side. The old building in front of Fort George, that was burnt, intercepted the view of the beach from a commanding position. The damage done to the buildings in the Fort can be repaired in two or three days, none of the guns or works have been injured, and we have only to lament the loss of an Inhabitant, an old Half Pay Officer, Cap't Fry [Frey], who was killed whilst employed in collecting shot (as he said to send back to the Enemy), and one Private of the 49th Regiment. Some of the houses of the town were damaged, particularly two or three of them, but not one was burnt tho' it was found that the Enemy's shot were in general heated. His expenditure in ammunition must have been very great, his fire having been very quick, it was, of course, ill directed. The number of his shot already collected and added to our piles, probably exceeds that which was fired by us. The extent of the mischief done by our fire cannot be ascertained, but from the observations made, as noticed in the accompanying reports, the damage and loss that the Enemy suffered must have far exceeded ours.

In my visit to the other part of the Line, I observed two large camps,—one at Schlosser, and the other below Black Rock; the Troops appear to have been withdrawn from

the former, the other is partly concealed by an Island. I did not discover many men near it. Their greatest assembly of Troops is said to be near Buffaloe, and is not visible from any part of our Line: Indications have been discovered of their preparing boats for a movement. I have directed some Indians to be sent on Grand Island secretly to watch their motions. Lieut. Colonel Bisshopp, whom I find an active and intelligent officer, is at present on that Flank; Major General Shaw, who commanded there, with the rank of Colonel in the Militia, and the pay of Lieut. Colonel, having relinquished the command to return to the duties of Adjutant General of Militia, in which his services were much wanted. The number of the Militia in the field has considerably increased since the notice was given of the termination of the Armistice, but it is partly in consequence of measures that had been previously adopted for calling in absentees; they are very alert at their several posts and continue generally to evince the best disposition. Some old loyalists, who bore arms in the American War, have come in, tho' exempt from service in the Militia. I retain them for the present as they are still capable of stationary service, and their lessons and example will have a happy influence on the Youth in the Militia ranks.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE

To His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST

A FRAGMENT.

To His Honor, ROGER HALE SHEAFFE, Esq'r.

*President administering the Government of Upper Canada,
and Major General commanding His Majesty's
Forces within the same, &c &c &c.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR: We trust that your Honor will believe that the following observations proceed from the purest motives, which we as a committee of the Executive council, do now submit to your consideration.

We rejoice with our Fellow subjects at the success which has hitherto attended his Majesty's arms, but while reflect-

ing with pleasure on the past, we cannot conceal our anxiety for the future. By land our success has exceeded our hopes—not so is our warfare on the Lakes. Whether this is to be ascribed to inferiority of strength on our part [or] accident, which the wisest and the [brav]est can neither foresee or prevent, or to the inexperience of our Naval

[*incomplete*]

AS TO MAJOR HEATHCOTE'S CONDUCT.

FORT GEORGE, 23d Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I have received from Colonel Vincent the proceedings of the Court of Enquiry, ordered to examine into the conduct of Major Heathcote of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, when commanding an Escort of Batteaux with stores, that was attacked on or about the 16th Sept'r.

The Court declares its opinion that "from the Evidence before it, there are not any grounds for a court Martial."

I direct Colonel Vincent to send down to you another copy of the report to be laid before His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, for his decision thereon.

I have the honor to be, &c.,

R. H. SHEAFFE

To Colonel BAYNES

TO COL. CLAUS AND OTHERS.

FORT GEORGE [*no date*]

GENTLEMEN: I am directed by His Honor Major General Sheaffe to communicate to you his wish, for your assembling on some early day for the purposes for which you have been appointed. But as circumstances have so much changed since the date of the Proclamation under which you have been instructed to act, that the public safety may be endangered by granting Passports to the extent which was then contemplated. His Honor desires that you will report for his consideration, the cases of all

claimants of Passports, and that you will suspend the granting any, until he shall have decided thereon.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, &c

ROBERT R. LORING

Capt., A. D. C.

To Colonel CLAUS, THO'S DICKSON, Esq., JOSEPH EDWARDS, Esq'r.

CIRCULAR.

FORT GEORGE, 23d Nov'r, 1812

His Honor Major General Sheaffe desires that you will exert your best effort to obtain accurate information of all those in your district, who are qualified for serving in His Majesty's vessels on the Lakes, and are willing to be so employed; and he requests that you will as soon as practicable transmit to him the names and descriptions of such persons, with remarks respecting their qualifications and the situations to which they may have pretensions.

CHRISTO. MYERS

To Officers Commanding Districts.

"ACTIVITY OF THE ENEMY."

FORT GEORGE, 23rd Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I have this day received a packet from York, containing a Letter from Colonel Vincent, apprising me of the return of Paymaster Brock,¹ 49th Reg't, from Sackett's Harbour, and of the intelligence brought from thence by him. It fully confirms that which had been previously received thro several channels, of the activity of the Enemy in preparing the most formidable means for establishing a superiority on the Lakes. If the weather at this advanced period should counteract their design of employing them

1. Capt. James Brock, who had served as secretary to Gen. Brock. Cruikshank prints a part of this letter from the Canadian Archives. (Doc. Hist., iv, 229.)

against us this season, and we should be fortunate enough to maintain our military Positions in this Province during the Winter, it will require exertions of the most energetic kind to enable us to contend with them in the Spring for the ascendancy on the Lakes, to obtain which engages the particular attention of the American Government as being necessary to the attainment of what is evidently the main object of the War, the possession of the Upper Province with an ulterior view to establishing a control of the numerous Indian Nations.

I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency a copy of an address which I have received from the Committee of the Executive Council of this Province, respecting the comparative state of its Marine. The subject is indeed interesting, and has a special claim on the attention of the Guardians of the Public Welfare.

I am informed by the Deputy Commissary General that the sum in the Military Chest will soon be exhausted. I therefore hope, if there be not a supply of money on the way to us, Your Excellency will be pleased to order one to be forwarded without delay.

I have the honor to be &c.

R. H. SHEAFFE

To His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bart

AN ATTACK OPPOSITE BLACK ROCK.¹

CHIPPAWA, 30th Nov'r, 1812.

SIR: I have the honour of reporting to Your Excellency that very early in the morn'g on the 28th an attack was made on our batteries opposite to Black rock, they were wrested from us for a time by Superior numbers; but Major Ormsby of the 49th Reg't with a body of Troops from Fort Erie having formed a junction with Lieut. Co'l Bisshopp who had moved up with great celerity from Chippawa with reinforcements; those of the Enemy who had not retired to their own shore, amounting to nearly forty, were made prisoners, with Capt'n King, who had, commanded in the attack.

1. In Canadian Archives. Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., iv, 252.

On receiving information of the attack I went up, having previously ordered a movement of some Troops to strengthen those posts, from which reinforcements had been detached to the right flank; on my arrival there, I found the Enemy in great force of which he seemed to make an ostentatious display, some on shore, some in boats, and perhaps with the hope of its giving effect to a summons which Lieut. Co'l Bisshopp had received to surrender Fort Erie.

When I approached the ground opposite to Black rock several large bodies of the Enemy were seen moving downwards; I suspected their intention to be either to advance from the bottom of Squaw Island in aid of a direct attack above it in front of Black rock, or that a design against this post, or some lower point was in contemplation. I therefore caused some detachments that I had passed on the road, to be halted opposite to the foot of Squaw Island, and I remained there till night approached, when I set off for this post. I continue here as being a central situation, in which I can quickly receive intelligence from either extremity of the line.

It appears that in the affair of the 28th the loss on our part, if not the early success of the Enemy, was chiefly owing to his having been mistaken for friendly succour coming from some neighbouring quarter.

Captain FitzGerald of the 49th Reg't was employed to carry to Black rock Lieut: Co'l Bisshopp's answer to the summons he received; he saw B: General Smyth who desired him to survey his force— he counted fifty-six large boats with men in them, and there was a great number of Troops on shore, in all, he thought, about five thousand, and he saw six scows with a field piece in each, and Horses with every appurtenance for field movement.

I have not yet received Lieut: Co'l Bisshopp's official report, nor the Returns of the Killed, wounded, and Missing. I wait for them to despatch an Express.

Lieut. Co'l Bisshopp deserves high commendation for the spirit and activity he displayed, and great credit is due to the officers and men who acted under his orders. It was unfortunate for the service that those valuable officers Lieut. King of the Royal Artillery, and Lieut. Lamont of the 49th Reg't, were so early disabled, otherwise the most

beneficial effects might have been expected from their exertions.

I have the honour to be Your Excellency's Most Ob't hum'l ser't

R. H. SHEAFFE
M. Gen'l Comm'g

His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST Bart

THE OPERATIONS OF NOV. 28TH.¹

FORT GEORGE, 4th Dec'r, 1812.

SIR: Some circumstances rendering my presence here necessary, I came down yesterday from Chippawa.

I have the honor of transmitting Lieut. Co'l Bisshopp's report of the operations of the 28th of Nov'r, with a return of the Killed, wounded and missing which I received yesterday evening. I also inclose sundry other documents, among them is a Proclamation by B. General Smyth, its character altogether is such as reflects the greatest discredit on those who could authorize its publication: it has not yet fully answered its purpose. From the information in some of the accompanying papers Your Excellency will perceive that a want of mutual confidence existed between the General and his Troops; this is confirmed by intelligence I received this morning from Lieut. Co'l Bisshopp, that Assistant Surgeon Steele, who had been taken prisoner on the 28th, had returned bringing the information that B. General Smyth had been forced to leave Buffaloe because he had declined moving his Troops across the River. The night before the last I received a dispatch from Co'l Procter, the substance of which is herewith transmitted: it was brought by Lieut. Merritt of the Provincial Dragoons, who was employed to convey the supply of cash and army bills to Dep'y Ass't Commis'y Gen'l Gilmore who writes to the Dep'y Commissary General that he feels confident of being sufficiently supplied with provisions until the opening of the navigation without further aid from him, which is fortunate, as a considerable quantity destined for Amherst-

1. Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., iv, 276, from Canadian Archives.

burgh has not been forwarded, circumstances having conspired to prevent it.

Our military chest is so nearly exhausted, and there are so many demands on it, that I have given my sanction to the Dep'y Comm'y General to issue notes, a transcript of the form of which is transmitted to the Comm'y General.

[no signature.]

[no address; but to Prevost.]

FORT GEORGE, 6th Dec'r, 1812.

SIR: I am directed by Major General Sheaffe to forward to you the inclosed notification of Appointments in the Indian Department.

Colonel Vincent has been ordered to send you a statement of the period, at which the Gentlemen holding the Situations, commenced acting in them, as no information on that head has as yet been received by the General.

I have the honor to be &c

ROBERT R. LORING,
Capt'n, A. D. C.

To NOAH FREER, Esq.
Quebec.

Note. The appointments were: Capt'n Ferguson to be Resident & Captain at 10/ pr diem. Mr. Anderson to be Interpreter at 5/ pr diem.

THE SITUATION SURVEYED.

FORT GEORGE, 9th Dec'r, 1812.

SIR: I have to apologise to your Excellency for the omission of intelligence from Colonel Procter, when I dispatched my letter of the 4th inst. in which it was referred to. I now have the honor of transmitting it. Appearances on the other side agree with accounts we have lately received. There are few men to be seen. The weather is cold for the season, but as yet there is but little snow.

The desertion of our Militia has increased since the beginning of this month, but I expect the voluntary return

of many: I hope that the rigor of the season and the state of the River will soon permit my authorising at least for a time the absence of a large portion of the Militia. When a bridge of ice shall be formed between us and the Enemy, it will require all the force we can muster to afford a chance of maintaining our position, and indeed the whole will probably be inadequate to the task of preventing occasional predatory incursions. Some days ago a twenty-four pounder (from Detroit) that had been remounted on one of the Batteries opposite to Black Rock, burst, but fortunately did no other mischief than wounding Capt'n Kerby of the Militia Artillery slightly in the hand: The Gun has been replaced by an 18 pounder. A vessel having the appearance of one of the Enemy's gun boats was seen yesterday morning about 10 or 12 miles to the Eastward, near the American shore. A bitter north west wind was blowing last night and still continued: She had probably run back to Sacket's Harbour.

The weather has not permitted a communication by water with York since the 21st of November, and it is now deemed prudent to lay up the *Prince Regent* there. Colonel Vincent has adopted the same opinion respecting the *Royal George* and *Moir* at Kingston, that it would be attended with too much hazard to allow them to sail, he therefore proposes laying them up there, in which he does not foresee any disadvantage. There will at least be some inconvenience in their being separated from the naval depot, and they run more risk of injury from the Enemy at Kingston. I shall impress on Colonel Vincent the necessity for taking every precaution for their security.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE

His Excellency, Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bart.

TO REMUNERATE LIEUT. JOHNSTON.

FORT GEORGE, 12th Dec'r, 1812.

SIR: I am directed by His Honor, M. Gen'l Sheaffe to desire that you will signify to the Honble J. McGill Ins'r Gen'l of Prov'l accounts his approbation of a charge being

made in the provincial accounts of £10.5.5¼—as a remuneration to Lieut. Johnston of the Canadian Fencibles for his past services in drilling and instructing certain companies of the Militia.

I have the honor to be, Sir, Your most ob't Hum'l
Servant

NATH'L COFFIN,
A. D. C.

EDW'D McMAHON, *Esq'r*
Act'y Sec'y, York.

THE MARINE ESTABLISHMENT.

FORT GEORGE, 16th Dec'r, 1812.

SIR: Capt'n Gray arrived here on the 14th and delivered to me your Excellency's dispatch of the 15th of November. Lt. Colonel Myers will set out as speedily as possible for the Lower Province, and will take with him all the information that can be collected of the means which this Province can furnish for aiding in the execution of the plan which is proposed for the improvement of our Marine Establishment to such an Extent as shall, at least, raise it to an equality with the force preparing by the Enemy;— but for this important purpose it must be owned, that assistance of the most essential kind must be drawn from sources that are not even under your Excellency's control—besides shipwrights, rigging, guns, and equipment of various sorts which the Lower Province may be able to supply—officers and seamen from the Royal Navy will be required: an addition of some heavy guns will be necessary for the defense of the ports of Kingston and York: it is desirable, too, to have some Gun Boats carrying guns of a large calibre—but the construction of these must probably be deferred as a secondary consideration, as it is not to be expected that we shall be able to engage at once in preparing every kind of vessel which may be deemed useful:— Captain Gray will return to York and Kingston to give the necessary directions for commencing the work, and for putting in a state of active operation all the aids that we can command for con-

tributing to its progress. The detail of the proposed plan will be taken down by Lt. Colonel Myers:— I have the honor of enclosing a general sketch of it. It mortifies me extremely to have to report to your Excellency that both sickness and desertion increased among the Militia after the date of my last despatch—indeed the desertion was chiefly owing, I believe, to the distress in their families from sickness, and the want of assistance in various ways, either for providing for their comfort, or their subsistence during the winter:— it must be confessed, too, that the Militia were but ill prepared for such cold weather as we have experienced. The clothing for them came up so late that with our defective means we could not get it made for them in time—and it unfortunately happened that but a small part of the shoes provided for them had arrived at Kingston when Lt. Colonel Nichols sailed from thence with the supplies which he brought up; the aid that we could obtain in shoes and leather from the neighbouring parts of the Province was too scanty to answer the demand, especially as [*incomplete*]¹

1. This letter complete is in the Canadian Archives, and continues as follows:

"a considerable number of Indians, too, were to be supplied. The consequence was that a deficiency of shoes was rapidly increasing, and some men were disabled from doing duty for want of them. Under all these circumstances, it became necessary to adopt the means of giving my sanction to the absence of the battalion companies and to one flank company of each regiment, in order to prepare the way for an arrangement for rendering the militia force on this frontier more numerous and efficient at a short distance of time. I hope to have it effected in the course of two or three weeks, and that the enemy in the meantime will not be in a state to make an attack in such force as to overpower the resistance that can be opposed to them. I ought not, however, to conceal from Your Excellency my opinion that we must continue to be befriended by good fortune as well as by the defective plans and organizations of the enemy to enable us to maintain this position through the winter, even with all the aid that the best exertions of the militia may afford us, for it appears probable that the efforts of the enemy will be directed to this point, where it must be known that we are weak in number, with but little hope of reinforcement.

"B. General Smyth is reported to have returned to Buffalo.

"Captain King, who commanded the American troops in the attack on our batteries near Fort Erie, and is now a prisoner here, has applied to be liberated on his parole, which I have declined granting until it shall be authorized by Your Excellency. He is a bold and enterprising spirit, and appears to be held in high estimation on the other side. A private of the 49th pretends that he saw him some years since at Portsmouth under sentence of transportation, that he is an Irishman and his true name Mafrey. The soldier is at Fort Erie. I have sent for him that I may interrogate him myself on the subject.

"I have ordered a General Court Martial to be assembled for the trial of three deserters, taken in arms against us: one at Michilimackinac, one at Queenston, and one with Captain King."

SHEAFFE TO COL. VINCENT.

FORT GEORGE, 20th Dec'r, 1812.

SIR: I have received your letters of the 7th and 14th Dec'r.

- 1.—I shall send instructions about contingent expenses that remain unpaid.
- 2.—Lt. Col. Pearson is written to by the Adj't General of Militia.
- 3.—It seems proper that Lt. Cobbett should be allowed forage for one Horse. it may be charged for accordingly.
- 4.—Colonel Ferguson's plan is not practicable.
- 5.—Colonel McLean's [?] letter communicates the success of an enterprise, which both in the plan and execution reflects great credit on all who had a share in it. Mr. Plucknett's arrival affords me great satisfaction and I hope that the shipwrights &c are also by this time with you.

Captain Gray will send instructions to Mr. Plucknett concerning them as well as himself. Many useful hands can be collected to assist in the proposed work, tho' I fear that the Ranks of the Militia must furnish a great majority of them, if they should be wanted.

I recommend to you to have boarding pikes always at hand for your workmen, indeed if you can manage to have longer Pikes, they would be preferable, tho' the longest Ship-Pike may answer sufficiently well. I have established a Post with York twice a week, but I begin to think it too often. Other opportunities are so frequent that it is perhaps harrassing the Dragoons unnecessarily. Once a week to and from Kingston will probably be quite enough. Let me have your opinion thereon, and where it is proposed that the Dragoons between Fort George and Kingston shall meet to exchange Mails—at York or on the other side of it?

It appears to me necessary that something should be done at Gananoqui, if not elsewhere on the route from below to afford protection to the communication.

I cannot find the plan of Colonel Stone's to which you allude. It may be at York among my predecessor's Papers. Nothing of a defensive nature can be constructed at present, except a block House which you may authorize to be built

on such a Plan as shall combine oeconomy with the attainment of the end proposed.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE

Colonel VINCENT

GUN BOATS FOR LAKE ERIE.¹

FORT GEORGE, 22d Dec. 1812.

SIR: I have had the honor of receiving your Excellency's despatches of the 23d of Novem'r and 3d Dec'r. I derive the greatest satisfaction from learning that we are to have the aid of so many shipwrights &c immediately. With the addition of the number of workmen that the country can furnish, there will no doubt be sufficient to prepare the Hulls, Masts and Iron work, quite as soon as the other essential parts will be in readiness:

I hope that your Excellency will soon have favorable intelligence respecting the officers and crews. I have not yet heard of the arrival of the *Lady Prevost* at Amherstburg: If Captain Hall has escaped the tempestuous weather that succeeded his departure from Fort Erie, and has reached his destined port, he will be directed to proceed to Quebec unless it should appear that his presence at Amherstburg can not be dispensed with.

Besides a vessel similar to the *Lady Prevost*, it is proposed to add two Gun boats on Lake Erie, Colonel Procter have represented that they would be of great utility. The general sketch of the plan proposed for the increase of the provincial navy, to which I alluded in my letter of the 16th was not enclosed in it, Capt'n Gray having told me that he was sending down a full report on it.

Mr. Deputy Commissary General Couche's representation may prove just, tho' I think it improbable that there will be, to such an extent, a failure of supplies, as to make us dependent on the Lower Province. The peculiar situation in which this has been placed for many months, will no doubt have the effect of diminishing its resources.

A restriction on exports will become necessary if the War continues, but whether it will provide sufficiently for

1. In Canadian Archives. Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., iv, 334.

the probable increased consumption must be uncertain, as it will depend on a variety of contingencies, that may baffle the most plausible calculations

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE

To Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bar't.

FROM COMMODORE CHAUNCEY.

BLACK ROCK, 25th Dec. 1812.

SIR: Upon my arrival at this place I was mortified to learn that a party of three sailors had crossed the River on the 28th ulto and burnt two houses the property of individuals. This act I assure you Sir was done without the knowledge of the Naval Officers then commanding on this Station, and the men have been made sensible of the impropriety of their conduct.

I will also assure you that as far as in my power to prevent, no similar act shall be repeated by the men under my Command.

I understand that these Seamen were taken on the morning of the 28th ulto in company with some Soldiers, and are now Prisoners at Fort George. I trust, Sir, that you will not hesitate to let those men return, when I assure you that I hold Colonel Vincent's receipt for Captain Brock, and the officers and crews of the *Mary Hatt* and *Elizabeth* taken by the squadron under my command upon Lake Ontario in Nov. last, and who were sent to Kingston immediately after, upon their Parole. Lieut. King is in a way of recovery. I will send him over upon his parole the moment that he can be removed with convenience to himself.

I have the honor to be very respectfully your obed & humble ser't

ISAAC CHAUNCEY,

Commodore & comm'g Naval Forces U. S. on the Lakes

To Major General SHEAFFE

A DESERTER EXECUTED.¹

FORT GEORGE, 29th Dec'r [1812]

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's Letters of 17th & 19th by Mr. McGillivray with a copy of the Treaty for the release of Prisoners of War on their Parole, and for their eventual exchange.

Captain Gray has reported his having commenced the preparations for building the vessel intended to be constructed at York, and has proceeded to Kingston to give the necessary directions for the work to be executed there. He will send a Report down from thence, if further assistance of artificers should be deemed necessary from the Lower Province. An express has been sent to Amherstburg with instructions for building a vessel there of the size of the *Queen Charlotte* and it is intended to construct two Gun Boats for Lake Erie, or to purchase or hire vessels for the purpose, as may be found most advantageous for the service.

I regret exceedingly that I have to communicate the Death of D. A. Q. M. G'l Dewar. Colonel Procter in a Letter to a Lt. Colonel Myers, recently brought down by a private opportunity, reports his having died suddenly in consequence of the bursting of a blood vessel. Col. Procter has appointed Lt. Troughton, R. A. to act in the Q'r M's Gen'l's Department, of which I have approved until your Excellency's pleasure be known. I hope that Lt. King's services will soon be restored. The last report I received of Him was favorable. In case of his return a new appointment might be unnecessary if that of B't Major Clerk's should be confirmed, of which however a doubt has occurred to me, founded on there being two Captains of the 49th already on the Staff. Lt. Troughton's appoint't I consider merely temporary, as his active services as an Artillery officer may be required after a short interval. Copies of the proceedings of the General Court Martial, on the trial of three Deserters, are transmitted, with my orders thereon, which I hope will meet with your Excellency's approbation.

Murphy, a Deserter from the 49th Reg't, who was found

1. With slight variations this letter is in the Canadian Archives. Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., iv, 336.

in the Enemy's Ranks, on the 28th Nov. last was executed yesterday. He confessed his guilt, acknowledging that he had given to the Enemy all the aid in his power, and had probably caused the Death of one or more of his old comrades. For all which he declared his penitence and sorrow.

Lt. Col. Myers has had a violent indisposition from which he is not yet sufficiently recovered to go out, and there is reason to apprehend that he would be exposed to great danger in going down at this rigorous season to such a climate as that of the Lower Province. I hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to permit his remaining in the Upper Province during the Winter, or at least until its severity be passed.

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Major General.

To Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bart.

TO COL. VINCENT.

FORT GEORGE, 1st Jan'r, 1812 [*sic*: 1813]

SIR: L. Colonel Myers having made an application to me in favour of Capt Chambers of the 41st Reg't to act in the Q'r M's Gen'l dep't—and it being strongly supported by the active and useful services in which that officer has been employed, I request that you will lay before H. E. The Commander of the Forces my recommendation that he should be attached to the Dep't either as a substitute for B. Major C. if his appointment should not be confirmed, or otherwise, as an additional aid to it, if His Exc'y should deem one to be necessary, in consequence of the death of Lieut. Dewar, and the uncertainty of the period at which the services of Lieut. King may be restored to the department.

I have the &c

P. S. Transmit to Head Quarters, and to me a duplicate, the best information you can obtain of the force and defenses of Sackett's Harbour, and of the approaches to it in the winter. The relative position of Gravelly Point, and

force and defences there also, and of the means and practicability of an attempt to destroy the vessels etc., in Sackett's Harbour.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE

Col. VINCENT

AS TO EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS.

FORT GEORGE, 1st Jany, 1813.

SIR: Having received from His Excellency the Commander of the British Forces a copy of the Treaty entered into with Major General Dearborn commanding the Forces of the United States, for the release of Prisoners of War on this parole, and for their eventual exchange; I have therefore to request, that conformably with the fourth article thereof, you will be pleased to send to me, the names of American Prisoners of War now on their Parole, whom you wish to have exchanged for the British Prisoners of War who have been liberated, and whose names are in your possession.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE.

Brig. General SMYTH

SHEAFFE TO CHAUNCEY.

FORT GEORGE, 4th Jany, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the Receipt of your Letter of 25th Dec'r. Brigadier General Smyth, soon after the burning of the two houses to which you allude, thought proper to explain, in a Letter addressed to the Commanding Officer at Fort Erie, by what means that act had been committed, and to declare his disapprobation of it. I receive with great satisfaction the assurance of your participating in his sentiments on the occasion.

I regret that it is not in my power to accede to your Proposal for the release of the American seamen taken on

the 28th November. The Treaty for releasing on their Parole, and for the eventual exchange of Prisoners, entered into between General Dearborn and Sir George Prevost, not providing for such a case, I must wait for authority to liberate those men. It is not however to be expected that more Prisoners will be sent over from hence on their Parole, until the Officer Commanding the United States Forces on the Niagara Frontier, shall have performed on his part, what remains to be done for the completion of the exchange of those who have been returned to us, on their Parole: For Captain Brock, I have no doubt that a Captain of the United States Army has been released. If the officers and crews of the *Mary Hatt* and *Elizabeth* have not been exchanged, it will be necessary that I shall be furnished with their names and with authority from His Excellency Sir George Prevost, to enter into a negotiation for their exchange on which I shall without delay apply for instructions.

R. H. S.

To Commodore CHAUNCEY.

P. S. I beg you will accept of my thanks for your pleasing account of Lieut. King, and for your assurance of sending him over on his Parole when he can be removed with convenience. The name of the officer of similar rank of the U. S. Army, now on Parole, may be sent with him, for their mutual exchange.

MEMORANDA.

FORT GEORGE, 4th Jan'y 1813.

A Letter to Colonel Baynes:

Communicating the receipt of one from Commodore Chauncey U. S. Navy, respecting three Seamen whom he wished to be exchanged, with my answer thereto.

Stating that a question had arisen, who was to receive the Command money at York, during the time Major Fuller was deranged and that Major Allan (Militia) commanded.

The improvement in the Corps of Artillery Drivers, suggested by Capt'n Holcroft.

(signed)

R. H. SHEAFFE

Also, a Second:

Cont'g proposed occupation of Newcastle as a Mil'y post—directions sending by Express to Capt Roberts—corps of Colour if authorised.

DETAILS OF THE SERVICE.

FORT GEORGE, 5th Jan'y, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of enclosing herewith to be laid before His Excellency the commander of the Forces a Memorial which I have received through Colonel Vincent from officers of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment who served on board His Majesty's vessels on Lake Ontario last year.

I request to be instructed at what rate a charge will be admitted for the travelling expenses of officers who are ordered to go by land from one post to another in this Province: a provincial act directs that a Cart or Carriage with two Horses or Oxen shall be furnished on a warrant from a Justice of the Peace at the rate of seven Shillings and six pence a Day, and two and six pence for the Driver, and not to be compelled to go more than thirty Miles a Day.

Col. Claus Dep'ty Superintendent General of Indian affairs has represented to me the necessity of a supply of stationary for his Department, none having been received by it since the Year 1809, and that the storekeeper and clerks have supplied their offices for two years at very extravagant prices, for which even it can no longer be procured.

I beg to be informed what allowance is to be granted to the Acting Fort Major.

The duties of the Fort or Garrison sergeant have been and continue to be so harrassing, and are attended with so much expence for stationary, that I have added six pence a day from the 25th last month, to the shilling before

granted to the Sergeant who acts in that capacity, whose conduct in it has been highly meritorious.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your ob't Hum'l Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE

M. Gen'l Comm'g

NOAH FREER, *Esq'r,*
Mil'y Sec'y.

MEMO.

6th Jan'y

Wrote to Gen'l Glasgow, Mil'y Sec'y; I. Irvine recommended 1st L't in P. M. from 25th Oct'r. Wrote to Bishop of Q.

PROVISIONS, PAY FOR MILITIA, ETC.

FORT GEORGE, 6th Jan'y, 1813.

SIR: I have received this day a communication from D'y Com'ssry Gen'l Couche of which I have the honor of transmitting a Copy. The issues of Provisions have considerably diminished in this District and will remain some time much below their late amount. At York and Kingston they will continue to be at least as great as they have for some time been, owing to the increase of the Marine establishment at those Posts. At Amherstburgh it appears probable that the consumption will be increased during the Winter as many sources of supply that the milder season furnished to the Indians will no longer exist. The several Corps and Departments in this Province have been compelled to apply to the Commissariat for pecuniary aid, it not being found practicable to obtain money from any other source.

As the pay of the Militia, and other Provincial expenses have been furnished by the Commissariat, and it probably not being regular that such monies should be finally accounted for through it, it may be necessary to establish some mode, whereby the Province should be made accountable for them, through its proper officer, the Receiver General. I request your Excellency's advice and instructions

on this Head, as it appears to be of importance that a plan to regulate such matters, should be speedily adopted, for the simplifying and facilitating the settlement of the public accounts.

I propose going to York in the course of a few days, the passage of the River being impracticable, and likely to remain so for some time.

It has been suggested to me that two or three Battalions might be formed in this Province, if encouragement were given by a promise of land &c. A proposition has been made to me by a Major of the Militia, to raise a Corps of 2 or 300 Men in York and its vicinity, and to increase it by inlistments elsewhere to 5, or 600, not to serve out of the Province but in such cases as it may legally be required of the Militia. I beg leave to submit this subject to your Excellency's consideration, with the hopes of being honoured with an early intimation of your opinion thereon, and of the principles on which you would recommend and approve of the formation of such Corps. It is thought by some that the inlistment of a Militia man is prohibited by the 23d Article of the Militia Act, passed the 5th of last August, but such a construction appears to me to be controvertible.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE

To His Excellency Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bart.

OBVIOUS NEED OF REINFORCEMENTS.

FORT GEORGE, 7th Jan'y, 1813

[*Extract*]

I shall not urge the necessity of a considerable reinforcement for this Province, convinced of its being obvious to your Excellency, that it will be required to resist the augmented force, which the Enemy will probably direct against it, and to aid in protecting our Dock Yards from the early attempt which will no doubt be made to defeat our efforts, for reestablishing a naval ascendancy.

R. H. SHEAFFE

Maj'r General

To Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bart.

DETAILS OF THE SERVICE.

FORT GEORGE, 10th Jan'y, 1813.

SIR: I have received your Letters of the 29th Dec'r 1st & 4th Jan'y. Mr. Couche has written so urgently on the subject of money, that I hope your complaint is ere this removed.

I have referred Colonel Stone's proposition to the Adjutant Gen'l's consideration and Reports thereon—Lt. Bradish will [be] attended to. I hope that the Block House is finished—well planned—and wisely placed. Insist on the necessity of guarding vigilantly against surprise. I send some observations on the Proceedings of the Court of Enquiry—if it were so intended the order should have directed the Court to declare its opinion, but in this case perhaps it would have been better to have merely stated the information, when its need and in what manner should have appeared in the complaint. You may either insert the Remarks I enclose, in your Orderly Book, or adopt any other mode of making them known, that you may have reason to prefer.

Mr. O'Brien was not forgot. Mr. Wm. Ross is not on Mr. Couche's list. He was sent by Commissary General Robinson to assist Mr. Ross in making up his accounts. A Recommendation from you to the Commissary General might be of use to the young man. I hope that you have sent with the company of 49th on its way up, arms & accoutrements to replace those lost—with articles of clothing, &c &c. I take it for granted the losses and wants have been reported to you by Major Ormsby.

The shoes are much wanted. If there should be anything required for the public service, which it may be necessary to send for to the Lower Province, and to have supplied without delay, with a report to Head Quarters, send a duplicate to Major Gen'l De Rottenburg at Montreal. The Lake has [*illegible*] at Point Abinot.¹

R. H. SHEAFFE

Colonel VINCENT

1. One of many early spellings of what is now written "Abino."

VALUE OF THE INDIAN FORCE.

*Military Secretary's office,
QUEBEC, 14th Jan'y, 1813.*

SIR: The Commander of the Forces desires I will impress upon your mind the great advantage which may result, in the Defense of Upper Canada, from the timely cooperation of an Indian Force;— Therefore trust your arrangements with Mr. Dickson will be principally directed to that most desirable object.

NOAH FREER
M. S.

To Major General SHEAFFE

CLAIMS OF THE INDIANS.

FORT GEORGE, 17th January, 1813.

SIR: I am directed by Major General Sheaffe to transmit to you the accompanying Letter from Colonel Claus, D'y Sup't Gen'l of Indian affairs, and to request that it may be laid before His Excellency the Governor in Chief.

It is impracticable to obtain the money in this Province to satisfy the claims of the Indians. It has been due to them several months and even if cash could be got for Col. Claus' bills as Trustee, a loss would be sustained owing to the rate of exchange, that Government, it is conceived, would not allow to fall on the Indians. Major General Sheaffe therefore begs to propose for His Excellency's consideration that the sum of [blank] be remitted to the D'y Commissary Gen'l about five hundred of which to be in silver, and the remainder in the smaller army notes, to be paid in to the hands of Colonel Claus, for his Bill for that amount, as Trustee for the six Indian Nations.

I have the honor to be

R. H. SHEAFFE
Maj'r Gen'l Comm'g.

To NOAH FREER, Esq'r

SUPPLIES FOR THE TROOPS.

FORT GEORGE, Jan'y 25th, 1813.

SIR: Major General Sheaffe has directed me, in reference to an order for the officers to procure supplies of necessaries for their men from the Lower Province, to request that you will lay before His Excellency the Commander of the Forces his suggestion, that supplies of clothing and necessaries for the Troops here, may be provided and sent up by the Commissariat to be issued. Major General Sheaffe is induced to propose this measure from a conviction, that the procuring the articles necessary for the soldiers comfort from so great a distance, particularly at this crisis, would be attended with much more difficulty and even risk, than the Individuals commanding companies could be enabled to surmount, or bear the heavy responsibility of.

Major General Sheaffe requests you will procure from His Excellency the Commander of the Forces information on the following heads, Viz: Rates of Pay and allowances for Q'r M's General, Adjutant General of Militia and Assistants, of D'y Paymaster General, and Clerks. Some regulations and instructions for the payment of Militia. For the D'y P. M. Gen'l and Paymasters. Forms of Estimates and Pay lists.

I have the honor to be, &c

ROBERT R. LORING,
Capt. adc.

To NOAH FREER, *Esq'r M. S.*

TO COL. PROCTER.

FORT GEORGE, Jan'y 30th, 1813.

MY DEAR COLONEL: Lieutenant Maclean arrived yesterday about the middle of the day with your highly gratifying account of the brilliant victory obtained by the Troops under your Command aided by those faithful and gallant allies the Indians, over those of the Enemy, under Brigadier General Winchester, on the morning of the 22d instant.

On this Event of such essential importance to the Country, I beg you will accept my warmest congratulations to-

gether with my strongest approbation of the judgment and vigour you displayed in the atchievement of this Exploit and of the noble support you received from the brave officers and men under your Command.

I am, my Dear Colonel, with the greatest regard
Your most obedient humble servant

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Maj'r Gen'l

To Colonel PROCTER

SERVICE OF ROBERT DICKSON.

FORT GEORGE, 3d Febr'y, 1813.

Confidential

SIR: The Commander of the Forces having been pleased to appoint Robert Dickson Esq'r Agent and Superintendent for the Indians of the nations to the Westward of Lake Huron, I have the honor to acquaint you thereof and to [send] you an extract of a Letter received by me from the Military Secretary, which will further point out to you the wishes of His Excellency upon this subject.

Mr. Dickson proceeds to Amherstburg, and he will lay before you the instructions he has received from Sir George Prevost—it therefore only remains for me to call your particular attention to affording all possible aid and facility in your power, towards promoting the important object in view.

Mr. Dickson will make known to you from time to time his progress in calling together the Indian Warriors of the Nations alluded to. The application of their services will be guided by circumstances, and upon which future instructions will be issued.

As it is essential that a certain and quick mode for the conveyance of the Dispatches which Mr. Dickson may have occasion to transmit to me, or that I may wish to forward to him, should be established, he will point out to you the Routes by which it is proposed to make such communications.

Capt'n Norton accompanies Mr. Dickson to Amherstburg, and as soon as he has finished the business on which

he is sent, It is the wish of the Major General that he returns to this place.

I have the honor to be

R. H. SHEAFFE

Colonel PROCTER

M'r G'l

Confidential

FORT GEORGE, 3d Feb'y, 1813

SIR: The Commander of the Forces having been pleased to appoint Robert Dickson, Esq'r, Agent and Superintendent for the Indians to the Westward of Lake Huron, I have the honor to acquaint you thereof and to desire that by every possible means in your power, you give your aid to him in promoting the important service with which he is charged. He will acquaint you generally of the instructions he has received from His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, and of the Posts where it is proposed to assemble the Indian Warriors of the Nations alluded to.

It is essential that a certain and quick mode for the conveyance of the Dispatches, which Mr. Dickson may have occasion to transmit to me or that I may wish to forward to him, should be established, he will point out to you the modes by which it is proposed to make such Communications.

R. H. SHEAFFE,

Capt'n ROBERTS

10th Vet. Batt'n

M. G.

FORT GEORGE, 3d Febr'y, 1813.

SIR: The Commander of the Forces having been pleased to appoint Robert Dickson Esq'r Agent and Superintendent, for the Indians of the Nations to the westward of Lake Huron, I have the honor to acquaint you thereof, and to desire that you will be pleased to give such orders as may be requisite for forwarding the important object in view by this appointment, to the several officers of the Indian Department under your Superintendence

R. H. SHEAFFE

Hon'bl WM CLAUS

M'r G'l

PROPOSES A CORPS LIKE BUTLER'S RANGERS.

FORT GEORGE, 4th Febr'y, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor to address your Excellency on the subject of Colonel Caldwell, who is the bearer of this Letter. He is brave, zealous and loyal, and is held in high estimation by the Indians. He is connected by marriage with the family of Mr. Baby at Quebec, from whom any further information which your Excellency might think necessary could be obtained.

The object of his visit below is to make a proposition for forming a Corps similar to that in which he served as Captain during the last American War, called Butler's Rangers. By a letter from Colonel Procter of 13th Jan'y to a copy of which forwarded by me to the Military Secretary, I beg leave to refer your Excellency, it appears that the Indians in council have formally, as Colonel Procter says, "requested the aid of such a Corps (Butler's Rangers) as were attached to and acted with them during the last War, and that Captain Caldwell, whom they well know, and think highly of may be employed."

I cannot but approve of Colonel Procter's suggestion in the Letter referred to, that it would be beneficial to commence with the formation of one Company.

I have the honor to be

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Maj'r Gen'l

To His Excellency,
Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bart

 THE COST OF WAR.

FORT GEORGE, Febr'y 8th, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor to acquaint you that the D'y Commissary General has handed me a statement for the several sums advanced by him to this date, for Provincial Services in Upper Canada, amounting to £25,000 Army Pay. I am therefore to request that you will be pleased to grant your Warrant to that amount, in favor of the Receiver General of the Province. And as a farther sum will

be required immediately in aid of the civil chest, I beg you will be pleased also to grant another Warrant for £12,000 Army Pay, and that the Commissary General may be directed to forward the amount to the Receiver General. The average Provincial expenses arising out of the War with the United States, may be stated in ROUND sums, as follows:

Amherstburg and Detroit	£ 2,000	per month
Long Point	500	_____
Fort George and Dependancies	5,000	_____
York	800	_____
Kingston	2,000	_____
Prescott & Eastern District.....	2,000	_____
Total	£12,300	_____

Exclusive of Rations of Provisions

R. H. S.

To Sir GEORGE PREVOST

TO COL. BAYNES.¹

FORT GEORGE, 9th Feby. 1813.

MY DEAR COLONEL: I send you extracts from a Letter I received last night from Colonel Procter. You will see that he was very anxious for a reinforcement, which I hope arrived very few days after he wrote. From the information of those who met it on the Route, I have reason to believe that it reached its destination on the 6th or at the latest on the 7th. I sent him all his light Company, and the addition of Artillery men will no doubt be highly acceptable to him. I feel no doubt of Sir George's approbation of the movement. Some Barrack Bedding accompanies them with some supplies for the Militia. The Provincial Legislature is summoned to assemble on the 25th instant, before which time I hope to be quite restored to health, tho' my recovery does not keep pace either with my wishes or expectations. I am advised to abstain as much as pos-

1. In Canadian Archives. Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., v, 64.

sible from business, but business, especially at such a time, *must* be done. You may discover my weakness in my writing. I cannot yet enter on the task of a long Dispatch to Sir George. I am establishing the systems recommended for the payment of the Militia. I hope to learn soon how these things are done below.

I propose issuing to the General Staff of the Militia, and to officers of the Flank Companies, that were out during the last Campaign, 200 days Bat and Forage if Sir George approves of it. I understand from a Letter of yours, that a similar issue was made below. I have also to request His Excellency's authority for forming a corps of Artillery drivers, on terms like those on which there is now one raising in the Lower Province, and also for the purchase of an additional number of Horses. Captain Glegg has already written by my directions, on these subjects, and has transmitted a Return to serve for further explanation. It would be highly useful, too, that it should be placed in my power, to give some additional encouragement to serving in the provincial Artillery. Neither my Head nor my Hand is in a State to enter more largely into these subjects. I have ordered clothing from Montreal for those two Corps, some of which, at least, I hope to get up this winter. Our Session will probably be short, but I think it will not be unproductive of benefit to our Militia System.

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Maj'r General

To Colonel BAYNES
Adj't Gen'l, N. A.

N. B. Some of the Prisoners have arrived and have been passed over. General Winchester, a Colonel and a Major remain here for orders from Head Quarters.

Colonel Elliott writes to Colonel Claus, that there are about a hundred Indians detained by the Americans, whom our Allies wish to get exchanged.

R. H. S.

Major Plenderleath and Captain Brider, arrived today.

R. H. S.

SUNDRY MEMORANDA.

FORT GEORGE, 12th Feby, 1813.

SIR: I am directed by Major General Sheaffe to forward to you the two accompanying Letters from Colonel Procter¹ together with a copy of the Resolutions of a Party of the Inhabitants of the Territory of Michigan, referred to by him. The Papers were brought express by Mr. Mackintosh who met Mr. Dickson and Capt'n Norton on their route to Amherstburg, and was informed by them that about a hundred of the grand River Indians were assembled and ready to march. He afterwards stopped at the house of Mr. Tew [?] of the Indian Depart't by whom an express was sent for those Indians to proceed immediately to Amherstburg and directions have been sent up for as many more to follow them as can be assembled. Orders have been likewise forwarded by Lt. Col. Bostwick of the Oxford Militia, who happened to be here for the Middlesex, the Oxford and Norfolk Reg'ts of Militia, to march immediately under Colonel Talbot to reinforce Colonel Procter.

Major General Sheaffe desires me to say, that he does not deem it prudent to detach any farther portion of the Regular force from this line, the Enemy being in great force and there being a bridge of ice between us. The Militia of this District are called in.

I have the honor to be &c

ROBERT R. LORING
Capt'n adc

To Colonel BAYNES,
Adj General N. A.

FORT GEORGE, 16th Feby, 1813.

SIR: Major General Sheaffe has directed me to acquaint you that some documents relative to disbursements by the Receiver General, for military purposes, have been received to day from that officer and that Copies have been directed to be sent to you, to be laid before His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, in order that Major General Sheaffe may receive His Excellency's directions thereon. The

1. These letters are not in the present collection.

Major General likewise requests to be Informed whether the officers of the Militia pay the Income Tax.

I have the honor to be

ROBERT R. LORING,
Capt'n A. D. C.

To NOAH FREER, *Esq'r M. S.*

Note. £5810: The amount of a warrant granted to D'y Paymaster General of Militia on the D'y Commissary General. Fort George, Feb'ry 16th, 1813.

FORT GEORGE, 16th Feby, 1813.

SIR: I am directed by Major General Sheaffe to transmit to you the three enclosed Papers.

No. 1—Being a paper containing information from Amherstburg.

No. 2—A Report from Lieut. Colonel Myers D'y Q'r M's General, respecting the Marine, and

No. 3—Being Information respecting the Corps of Colour.

I have also received Major General Sheaffe's commands to request that you will make him acquainted with the terms on which Troops of Dragoons have been formed in the Lower Province.

I have the honor to be

ROBERT R. LORING,
Capt'n, A. D. C.

To Colonel BAYNES,
Adj's General, N. A.

FORT GEORGE, 18th Feby, 1813.

SIR: Major General Sheaffe has directed me to acknowledge the receipt of your two Letters 6th and 8th Feby together with a copy of the Resolutions of a Party of the Inhabitants of the Territory of Michigan. This latter was without any signature, and it therefore did not appear clear, who was the author of the Letter, of which an extract was subjoined. Major General Sheaffe however supposes it must have been an extract of a letter from Mr.

Woodward accompanying the presentation of the Resolutions to you. Paper No. 2, which you state to have contained Conditions insolently proposed to you by Chief Justice Woodward, dated Feb'y 2d was not enclosed. The Major General desires me to say that he hopes *precise* information will accompany the Prisoners you are sending down, of the circumstances which have induced you to adopt such measures towards them. Gen'l Sheaffe intends confirming Mr. F. Baby in the Q'r M. Gen'l Depa't of Militia: the office he is to hold in it, and the pay & allowances will shortly be transmitted to you. Capt'n Caldwell will be allowed at the same rate for the time he acted.

ROBERT R. LORING,
A. D. C. Capt'n

Col. PROCTER.

PROMINENT AMERICAN PRISONERS.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
YORK, 4th March, 1813.

SIR: I am directed by Major General Sheaffe to inform you, that on the arrival of Colonel Brush, American Prisoner of War, and Mr. Woodward, the late Chief Justice of the Territory of Michigan, at Kingston (who proceed from hence escorted by Lieutenant Johnston of the Canadian Regiment, the bearer of this Letter), they are to be crossed over to the American shore, together with their Horses should they require to take them, this however I do not imagine will be the case, as they are now endeavoring to dispose of them.

I have the honor to be &c

ROBERT R. LORING,
Capt'n A. D. C.

NEWS FROM CAPT. ROBERTS, MICHILIMACKINAC.

YORK March 4th (or 5th), 1813

SIR: I am directed by Major General Sheaffe to inform you that an express arrived here from Michilimackinac on the 6th inst, containing Returns and Requisitions from

Captain Roberts, copies of which I forward by the Major General's desire for your information, and that of the several Departments concerned at Amherstburg, in order that it may be ascertained, what of the Articles required can be furnished from that post. The Major General desires that you will furnish him as soon as possible with a statement of the Articles you propose sending up to Captain Roberts early in the Spring.

I subjoin an extract from Captain Roberts' Letter. "Of the Provisions, Pork, Corn and Grease will be the first wanting, and the guns will be early in demand. The ordnance and other stores and repairs that are wanting are but few and many of them, such as platforms, the repair of the roof of the magazine, the making wheelbarrows and handbarrows, I shall be able to effect with the means within my reach."

I have the honor to be &c

ROBERT R. LORING
A. D. C. Cap't

To Brig'r General PROCTER

8 Papers sent being copies of those from Capt'n Roberts.

IN BEHALF OF LIEUT. FOWLER.

YORK, 7th March, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit a Memorial from Lieut. Fowler of the 41st Reg't accompanied by a Letter in support of it from Colonel Myers, Acting Quarter Master General and Commanding (at the date of it) the Niagara District: the opportunities which I have had of witnessing the conduct of Lieut. Fowler confirm to its fullest extent the testimony of Colonel Myers to his merit and pretensions. Therefore beg leave to intreat for them Your Excellency's favor and protection, and that you will be pleased to recommend them to the gracious consideration of His Royal Highness the Commander in Chief.

R. H. SHEAFFE

To His Excellency

Lt. General Sir GEORGE PREVOST, *Bart*

THE SPECIAL CORPS SERVICE.

YORK, 7th March, 1813.

MY DEAR GENERAL: Colonel Caldwell set off yesterday with a sketch of a plan for forming a Corps to act with the Indians &c:— it appears to me that a Corps for that purpose should have superior pay to one of any other description, and I am of opinion that you will hardly be able to procure proper subjects for such service on the terms proposed. The moment you have ascertained it to be so, lose no time in apprising me of it, and of stating to me the plan that, in your opinion, would most effectually accomplish the purpose, without exceeding the terms which were granted to Butlers Rangers— Sir George seemed to think them objectionable—pay from 2/6 to 4/—N. Y. C.¹ a day, according to the degree of merit and ability, I conceived, would be but reasonable, in the present time, for service of such a nature: A sum for an out-fit would be assented to—and (as you may think best) you may either recommend clothing to be provided for them (describing the kind) or that a sum be granted in lieu of it, to be paid quarterly, halfyearly, or otherwise—the annual amount to be specified. I send you some information respecting the terms on which some corps are about being raised—being the substance of three General Orders issued here by Sir George Prevost. I have directed printed Copies to be prepared, some of which I shall send up with Speeches, Addresses, Answers, &c &c. I expect hourly to hear of a movement from below— when it is announced, I shall order some troops from hence to replace your Gren'r Company, and as many more of the 41st as will make your number equal to five comp's: those attached to Head Quarters will probably not go up until the opening of the navigation.

[unsigned.]

To Brig'r Gen'l PROCTER.

1. New York currency.

NEEDS OF WESTERN POSTS.

GOV'T HOUSE, YORK, 13th March, '13.

SIR: I transmit to you by Major General Sheaffe's desire, the copy of a Letter from Capt'n Roberts commanding at Michilimackinac, together with Returns and Requisitions received from that officer, numbered from 1 to 8. Similar copies have been sent to Brig'r General Procter who has been directed to transmit without loss of time a statement of such of the Articles required as can be furnished from the Post of Amherstburg, and which he proposes sending up to Captain Roberts early in the Spring.

ROBERT R. LORING

*A. D. C. Capt'n**To NOAH FREER Esq'r, M. S.*

AN INCORPORATED MILITIA.

YORK, 13th March, 1813.

SIR: I have the honour of informing Your Excellency that the Session of the Legislature of this Province will close this day: there are some amendments to the Militia act which promise some benefit, and others of rather a doubtful character, the test of experience may however decide in their favor.

I have directed a copy of the titles of the Bills which have been framed to be prepared for Your Excellency to accompany this letter, and I shall as early as possible transmit a copy of the Acts themselves. An Incorporated Militia is to be formed of volunteers to serve during the War with the United States with a "Bounty" of Eight Dollars—this bounty is granted in compliance with my suggestion of an "Outfit": the House was restrained, I believe from granting a larger sum by the consciousness of its limited means—the Speaker told me that he wished they could have raised the sum for each man to twenty dollars—all the unappropriated funds of the Province are, however, placed at my disposal, but there will be so many other demands on them that I shall not be enabled to add to the bounty, which I think too small for the purpose—may I

therefore hope for Your Excellency's aid and authority for making an addition to it of 10 or 12 Dollars or of such other sum as you may deem sufficient.

R. H. SHEAFFE
Major General.

To His Exc'y Sir GEORGE PREVOST, B't.

VARIOUS MEMORANDA.

YORK, 13th March, 1813

Sent
To *Lieut. Col.*
PETERS
Northumberland
Militia

Invoice of Musket ammunition, orders for the Repair of the Firelocks of the Reg't under his Command and to transmit the account to Ass't Q. M. Gen'l District of York to be laid before the Board of Accounts.

R. R. L.

13th March

Letter sent to
B'r General
VINCENT

To send back the 300 stand of Arms &c 96 sets of accoutrements excepted

R. R. L.

14th March

Letter sent to
J. MCGILL, *Esq'r*
Ass't D'y Comm'y
Gen'l

To repair to Kingston as soon as possible.

R. R. L.

14th March

To Mr. FREER, M. S.

A letter informing him that the money for the Indians had not been received.

R. R. L.

YORK, 15th March, '13

Letter to Brig'r Gen. Vincent. Purport—Lamenting that time had been lost, thro' Major Glegg's being employed in issuing orders for the Militia & directing them to be issued thro' M. Adj't Gen'l's Department.

R. R. L.

15th March York

Letter to Major Glegg. Purport—Acknowledging receipt of his letter with sketches of orders and informing him that it was not the intention of Major Gen'l Sheaffe that he should be employed in issuing Militia orders.

R. R. L.

YORK, 15th March, '13.

Letter to Col. Baynes Adj't General. Transmitting a Report from Lt. Col. Bisshopp's & saying that Major Gen'l Sheaffe had addressed his Excellency, Sir. G. Prevost praying an increase of ten dollars, to the sum granted by the Legislature to the volunteers for incorporated Militia but that since the receipt of Colonel Bisshopp's Letter, this morning, Gen'l Sheaffe deeming an immediate force necessary, had taken upon himself to say that each Militia man about to be incorporated, should receive the additional ten dollars.

R. R. L.

GOV'T HOUSE, YORK, 17th March '13.

SIR: I am directed by the Major General commanding to inform you that he has received the strongest injunctions from H. E. the Commander of the Forces, to impress on you the necessity for using every possible exertion for supplying the forces under the command of B'r Gen'l Procter and the Major General accordingly orders that you shall employ all the means which you can command for that important purpose.

I have the honor &c

ROBERT R. LORING

A. D. C. Capt'n

EDWARD COUCHE, *Esq.*

D'y Comm'y General

SIR GEO. PREVOST TO GEN. SHEAFFE.

YORK, 17th March, 1813.

Extract of a Letter from Sir George Prevost to Major General Sheaffe.

MONTREAL, 11th March, 1813.

"You will adopt every measure within your power for securing during the continuance of hostilities the cordial cooperation of the Indian Tribes, and you will instruct the Officers in that Department acting with them that His Majesty's Government entirely concur in the expediency of my suggestions of the necessity of securing their Territory from encroachments and that in consequence wherever negotiations for peace may be entered into, the security of the Indian possessions shall not be either compromised or forgotten."

MEMORANDA.

YORK, 17th March

Letter to *Gen'l VINCENT*, with 4 enclosures: 1. Incorporated Militia. 2. Copy of Letter from N. Freer, Esq., 11th March— 3. Extracts from Private Letter from Sir George Prevost. 4. Papers relative to Mr. Ross (Kingston)

YORK, 18th March.

Letter to *NOAH FREER, Esq.* Respecting Clothing for the Militia Artillery and Drivers, not being provided by Messrs. Parker Gerard & Co. His Ex.'cy Com'g Forces therefore it is hoped will be pleased to order clothing, in lieu of that ordered by Col. Nicholl Q'r M's Gen'l Mil'a, to be made and sent up as early as possible.

R. R. LORING

18th March, YORK.

Letter to Messrs *PARKER GERARD and Co.* Directing them to transmit to Noah Freer Esq'r the order of the Q'r Master Gen'l Colonel Nichols, for clothing for the Militia Artillery & Drivers or a copy of it.

R. R. LORING

PAY FOR VOLUNTEER MILITIA.

YORK, 18th March, 1813.

SIR: After dispatching the Letter which I did myself the honor of addressing to Your Excellency on the 13th instant, the importance of forming without delay an efficient force from the Militia, and of giving effect, at its first publication to the new plan adopted for that purpose, struck me so forcibly, that I determined to offer in the instructions I had prepared, an additional sum of ten dollars to each volunteer for the Incorporated Militia. I hope that the critical situation in which the Province is placed will justify me for having adopted the measure, without waiting for an answer from Your Excellency to my application on the subject.

I have the honor to be Your most obedient humble servant

R. H. SHEAFFE
Maj'r Gen'l

To Lieut. Gen. Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bart

MEMORANDA.

YORK, 18th March, 1813.

To Colonel PEARSON.

Extract of a Letter from Sir George Prevost, 11th March. Purport, the importance of affording protection to the naval force at Kingston. Colonel Pearson directed to report to Major General Commanding the arrangement he proposes making for that purpose.

R. R. LORING

18th March, YORK.

To Colonel PEARSON, Kingston.

Copy of a Letter from Col. Myers 17th March Fort George, respecting Dr. McKeehan¹ sent down Prisoner by B'r General Procter, supposed to be a spy, with a Letter from Capt Loring directing by Maj'r Gen'l Sheaffe's order

1. This name was first written "McLaughlin," then rewritten as above.

every precaution to be taken to prevent Prisoner from having any communication on the Road.

18th March, YORK.

Letter to Colonel Baynes, enclosing copies of two Letters (purport) cannonading at Fort Erie, from B'r Gen'l Vincent.

R. R. L.

GEN. SHEAFFE TO NOAH FREER.

YORK, 20 March, 1813.

Extracts of a letter to the Military Secretary.

"Thinking that it would be proper to transmit to Earl Bathurst, the Documents received from B. General Procter as explanatory of his motives for establishing Martial law in the territory of Michigan, I have looked for them but in vain. I therefore take it for granted that they accompanied you from hence, and that His Excellency will send them home if he thinks it necessary."

"I believe that the sum to be transferred [by] Sir George's Warrant to the Receiver General cannot be ascertained until I go to Fort George, where I hope to be in a very few days: the sum first asked is, perhaps, not sufficient at present."

SHEAFFE TO PROCTER.

YORK, 21st March, 1813.

SIR: I send to you an extract of a Letter from Sir George Prevost, for your guidance and information, and you will please to take all such steps as may be necessary for carrying into execution His Excellency's Commands.

I have the honor to be Sir, Your most obedient Humble Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Maj'r Gen'l

To Brig'r General PROCTER.

GUN DRILL ON SHIPS.

YORK, 21st March, 1813.

SIR: I have received yours of the 15th instant with Colonel Cartwright's recommendation of Ensign Markland as Ass't Quarter Master General for the Midland District, but circumstances have come to my knowledge since I desired to have a Report on a fit person to fill that office, which induce me to decline nominating any other person than Donald McDoneli until I shall have heard from him, that he is unwilling to accept it.

I recommend to you to establish as frequent a practice as circumstances will permit in the exercise of the Guns *on board Ship*, and occasionally to fire them in the course of the practice, loaded with small charges. It must be ascertained that every Man is acquainted with the manner in which the Gun or Carronade is to be secured and that they are all instructed generally in what may be required in loading, firing &c &c, and not confined to the practice of one part only. A few experiments may be made with shot charges to discover the range &c the force of the recoil, and whether the Gun or Carronade is properly secured. It is of particular importance that every man should be acquainted with the Post and part assigned to him, and that previously to real action, he shall be so well instructed as to be able to acquit himself well in it.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE
Major Gen'l.

To Colonel PEARSON

 MEM. OF ACTION AT FORT ERIE.

YORK, 21st March 1813

A Letter sent from Sir Roger H. Sheaffe to His Ex'cy Sir George Prevost, together with those from Col. Bisshopp & General Vincent with List of killed and wounded in the Cannonade on 17th inst. at Fort Erie..

SUNDRY MATTERS.

YORK, 25th March, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting extracts of a Letter from Brig'r General Procter to Colonel Myers, to be submitted to the consideration and decision of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces on the several points to which they refer. I recommend the adoption of the plan proposed by Brig'r General Procter for the improvement of the Barrack Department in His District, another confirmation of Mr. Evisto [?] as acting Hospital Mate with the usual pay and allowances. It appears desirable that a medical officer should be attached to the Indian Department there. I beg leave to acquaint you that I have not received a supply of stationary since I succeeded to the command in this Province and that the Deputy Adjutant General is destitute of that essential article.

R. H. SHEAFFE

NOAH FREER,
M. S.*Supplement to NOAH FREER, Esq'r, 25th March.*

Be so good as to let me have early intimation of the measures adopted for furnishing the necessary articles of Clothing and Equipment for the Corps of Dragoons Artificers and Artillery Drivers to be raised.

R. H. S.

If some Saddles & Bridles fit for the Dragoons can be obtained here at a reasonable rate, I propose securing them—on which you shall have early information.

R. H. S.

VARIOUS MEMORANDA.

YORK, 25th March, 1813.

A Letter from Major General Sheaffe to Colonel Baynes. Purport—Lt. Stewart and 1 comp'y Glengarys passed for Fort George. Return transmitted of 2 deserters from 49th Grenadiers. Gen. Sheaffe finds it necessary to remain at

York a little longer, on account of the present weak state of defence York is in. Militia ordered in—and the Dock Yard men supplied with Arms &c as also a select body of the Towns folk. The Legislative Council Room to be converted into a Barrack, and the Government House do for officers, when some of their present quarters will be turned over to the men. Some men have entered here for the Incorporated Militia.

R. H. SHEAFFE.

ON THE TRIAL OF WALSH AND SHANAHAN.

YORK, 25th March, 1813.

SIR: I have received the proceedings of the General Court Martial on the trial of Privates Walsh and Shanahan of the 49th Reg't. Before I decide thereon I wish to have an explanation of some circumstances stated in them. The release of the Prisoners after the conduct for which it has been thought necessary to apply for a General Court Martial on them, and their being marched about fully equipped at Fort Erie for many days.

In Walsh's trial the word Creek is omitted 4th Line 9th Page.

In Shanahan's trial 13th Line 3d Page, restrained is inserted for restored of which you will please to apprise the acting Judge Advocate.

I have the honor to be Sir, your most obed't humble Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE,
Maj'r Gen'l &c

To Brig'r General VINCENT

FOR INDIAN CO-OPERATION.

YORK, 25th March, 1813.

Letter from Cap't Loring to Capt'n Roberts, with extract of a Letter from Sir George Prevost to Sir Roger H. Sheaffe, respecting securing during hostilities the cordial cooperation of the Indian Warriors. His Majestys Gover't

concurring in the suggestions of Sir George Prevost, of the necessity of securing the Indians possessions from incroachment, whenever Negotiations for Peace may be entered into, the security of the Indian possessions shall not either be compromised or forgotten. Gen'l Orders Montreal 10th March 1813. Sir Roger Sheaffe B'r &c Promotions &c Reinlistment of Men for limited Service York Gazette. Vote of thanks from Upper House Lower Province to the Indian Warriors at Detroit, Queenston, & French Town.

YORK, 26th March, 1813.

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 19th instant, which I have laid before the Major General Commanding, who desires me to say, that he hopes steps have been taken (in consequence of his desertation to you on the Subject some time back) to provide Indian Corn, Peas &c, such articles as will be requisite for the use of the Indians. In addition to the neighboring warriors who have been employed on our Frontier Line, a considerable body is expected down from the Westward and Sir Roger expects that a sufficient quantity of the above named Articles will be procured for the supply of their wants, as well as to send up to Amherstburg. D'y Ass't Comm'ry General Crookshanks can procure both Indian Corn and Peas here, but in what quantity he cannot as yet ascertain.

I have the honor to be &c

ROBERT R. LORING

A. D. C. Capt'n.

To D'y Commissary General

EDWARD COUCHE, *Esq'r.*

MEMORANDA.

YORK, 26th March.

SIR: The Major General Comm'g has desired me to inform you, that the two Letters addressed to you (which I now enclose) were opened by him; and an answer to that respecting the payment of Bounties &c (of which the Substance accompanies this was sent to Colonel Pearson, with

directions to forward it to Lt. Col. McDonell. I forwarded also to Colonel Pearson the General Orders (4 sheets) lately received from you, and they are to be passed by him to Prescott. Sir Roger wishes that you should address a similar letter to that sent Col. Pearson, to Brig'r General Vincent for his information.

I have the honor to be &c

ROBERT R. LORING,
A. D. C. Capt'n

To Lt. Col. HAWES
D'y Adj't General

No Stationary has yet been received— As soon as the demand made for it is complied with, a supply will be sent to you.

R. R. L.

YORK, 27th March, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting a Representation which I have this day received from Brig'r General Procter explanatory of his opinion on the Subject of raising a Corps, to act with the Auxiliary Indians. His suggestions appear to me to be worthy of the consideration of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces, to whose decision I request that they may be submitted.

R. H. SHEAFFE
Maj'r Gen'l &c

To Colonel BAYNES.

YORK, 29th March, 1813.

Letter to Lt. Col. Harvey—App't of Donald Ames [?] McDonell Esq. to be a Volunteer in the 49th Reg't from 25th March. Notifying Mr. Ingonville [?] as Act'y Engineer & sent Gen'l Orders (4 sheets) 10th March Montreal to Capt. Roberts.

R. R. L.

YORK, 29th March, '13

Letter to General Vincent to investigate respecting the non acceptance of Colonel Shortts draft on [illegible] Ft George for the pay of men of the 41st Reg't left at York

R. R. L.

PREFERMENT FOR COL. MYERS.

YORK, 29th March, 1813

SIR: I have received your Letter of the 26th instant with its several enclosures. You may announce to Lt. Col. Claus, & to Lt. Col. Clark that I approve of the officers recommended. I hope they will succeed in forming Ten companies each. This place and the communication from it up and down have increased so much in importance, that I think it proper to appoint as Commander of this District and that of New Castle an officer of Rank who is qualified for such a situation, and as Colonel Myers appears to me on all accounts the most eligible for it, I enclose an order nominating him to it, which you will communicate to him before it is given to the Deputy Adjutant General for publication. It is my wish to see him here, as soon as he has finished any business which it may be indispensably necessary that he should complete before he leaves Fort George. I send a Warrant for the transfer of a Sum of money from Mr. Couche to the D'y Pay Master General of Militia to whom I mean to send also a sum to pay the Provincial Bounty for Volunteers. As I have not received any report from Mr. McDonell of the amount of his estimate, I have left a blank in the Warrant which you will have filled up with such sum as may appear to you to be required. The leading sleighs of Captain Liddell's party have arrived I mean to send it by Water with the supplies of necessities &c.

You will please to give the necessary directions for the constructing of huts, and the fitting up of houses which may be required as quarters for any of the Troops—the Estimates of which are to be prepared by the Engineer provisionally approved by you.

The disbursements for these services are to be made by the Commissariat.

I am very anxious to be at Fort George, but I must remain here till the arrival of Colonel Myers.

The Boats that take the Glengary Company can bring the Deserters with an escort, which may return in one Boat, if we have not a vessel in Motion by that time.

There are not any Saddles here. Perhaps there are some in the Indian Store. Colonel Claus may be able to lend Lt.

Col. Harvey some stationary. What is the state of the shore on the other side? If there be recorded in the Brigade Major's office the names of the Militia Men killed or disabled by wounds, let me have a copy of it.

If the John Clark proposed as a Captain in Lt. Col. Clark's Corps be the Ass't Adj't General he cannot be permitted to relinquish the duties of that office until another be appointed to replace him.

R. H. SHEAFFE

To Brig General VINCENT &c
Fort George

N. B. I am desirous of having something done for an old Lieut: Davis in Capt. Durands Company 5th Lincoln. If he should come forward, room must be made for him if possible among the Captains.

R. H. S.

YORK, 29th March, 1813.

Sir Roger Sheaffe's Letter to Col. Myers appointing him to Command the Home and New Castle Districts. If it be found that the Kings or other Troops be coming up, Capt. Liddell Glengary's will be kept here. If he goes on it will be in Boats & the supplies of necessaries at the same time

R. H. S.

YORK, 29th March, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your Letter of the 14th inst. conveying the commands of His Excellency respecting the recruiting Party of the Newf'dLand Corps which shall be immediately attended to. I have also received your Letter of the 13th inst., enclosing a Statement of Mr. McNab on the subject of which enquiry shall be made.

R. H. S.

NOAH FREER, *Esq.*
M. S.

COL. MYERS' NEW COMMAND.

YORK, 29th March, 1813.

SIR: The increased importance of this place and of the communication on this side of the Lake, rendering it necessary in my opinion to add to the force employed here, as far as the means at my disposal may make it practicable, and also to appoint an officer of suitable rank, and of experience and ability, to the Command of these Districts, I have directed Colonel Myers to repair to this Post to assume the Command in the Home and Newcastle Districts. This nomination is moreover recommended by the benefit that the Marine Department is likely to derive from his having the Dock Yard here immediately under his Eye, and the communication with that of Kingston so much shortened. I trust that this appointment will meet the approbation of His Excellency the Commander of the Forces; to whose consideration I beg you will submit whether an allowance shall be granted for this command, and a Staff Adjutant, with the usual Pay & Allowances.

R. H. S.

To Col. BAYNES

Adj't Gen'l, N. A.

YORK, 30th March, 1813.

A Letter to B'r Gen'l Vincent from Capt'n Loring with orders from Sir Roger H. Sheaffe, to send 4 Artillery men from Fort George to York.

R. R. L.

A CALL FOR FUNDS.

YORK, 30th March, 1813.

SIR: The Receiver General having represented to me that £5,000 will be immediately required in aid of the civil expenditure for this Province, I request that you will be pleased to order that sum to be remitted to him accordingly.

R. H. SHEAFFE &C

To His Ex'cy

Sir GEORGE PREVOST, Bt.

A Letter from Sir Roger H. Sheaffe to Noah Freer Esq., M. S. saying that the £5,000 required is Sterling and

that if sent in army Bills, the Receiver General wishes £150 in 4 Dollar Bills and the rest in Bills of from 25, to 50 Dollars, Sir Roger intimates to Mr. Freer that he expects to hear from Mr. Couche what money will be wanting by him, and has no doubt that care will be taken to supply the Troops sufficiently with that necessary article.

R. H. S.

N. B. A Warrant to Mr. Couche to pay £1486: 5s 6d to Dep'y Paymaster General of Militia, being a sum lodged with him, by order of the Major General Commanding, last Fall, by Colonel Nicholl.

R. H. S.

A Letter from Sir Roger Sheaffe to D'y Pay Master General, advising him of the Warrant in his favor, and desiring him to issue such sum to the Q'r Master General, as he may want for services in his Department before the Return of Sir Roger to Fort George.

R. H. S.

FORCES FOR THE HEAD OF THE LAKE.

FORT GEORGE, 31st March, 1813

SIR: I am directed by the Major General Commanding to inform you that the party proposed to be stationed at the head of the Lake, to be (Sir Roger desires) under the Command of a Captain, can be conveyed thither by the two Boats, which take Mr. Smyth a[nd] the detachment of Glengarys to Fort George. From the Head of the Lake to this place the Boats are to be brought back, by a small party, either of Regulars, or of Regulars & militia as you shall judge best, and this Party will have a speedy opportunity of rejoining their Post at the Head of the Lake, as the communication by Water from hence to Fort George will now be very frequent.

I have the honor to be &c

ROBERT R. LORING A. D. C.

To Brig'r General VINCENT, &c
Fort George

REINFORCING MICHILIMACKINAC.

YORK, 5th April, 1813

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting herewith extracts of Letters received from Captain Roberts Commanding at Michilimackinac; Copies of the several documents alluded to therein are sent to the Military Secretary to be laid before your Excellency. It appears to be of importance that Captain Roberts should have a reinforcement as early as possible, and be furnished with certain articles for the supply of the Indians, that he may be enabled to answer the demand of Mr. Dickson, and have besides what may be essentially necessary for the Indians in general in his neighborhood. I beg leave to submit to your Excellency's consideration the proposal that such articles shall be sent up the Grand River in some of the North West Canoes chiefly manned with armed Men of the Corps of Voyageurs, with officers of their own in proportion to their number, to serve as a reinforcement.

R. H. SHEAFFE

*His Excellency**Sir* GEORGE PREVOST, *B't &c*

PLANS TO ATTACK FORT NIAGARA.

SIR: I transmit herewith copies of sentences of General Courts Martial assembled at Kingston on some Militia Men, and I request that you will be so good as to aid me with your advice on their cases: I have thought it proper to accompany the notice of them in public orders with the implied intention of sending them to Quebec, because it may operate beneficially: two others were tried for offenses of a similar nature.

A Document is sent to Mr. Freer which shews the probable amount of the advances made by the Commissariat on account of this Province to 24th March inclusive: The Estimate for the Month ending at that period amounted to nearly £7,000 and that to 24th April will probably exceed it.

The last information of the Enemy at Niagara states their number much lower than it has been supposed to be. Two hundred are said to form the Garrison of Fort Niagara: This intelligence has encouraged Brig'r General

Vincent to propose a plan for an attack on it with four hundred Men: for which purpose it seems that more boats are required, than we can at present command—besides it was thought a necessary part of the plan to employ the aid of Indians in its execution: It appears to me that such an operation, if we possessed the means of effecting it, would not accord with the principle adopted by y'r Excellency with regard to Sackett's Harbour, as communicated in y'r private Letter of the 18th March, which has arrived since I began this Letter.

I enclose a Letter to me from Norton as it seems to explain more favorably the cause of his retiring from Amherstburg. Mr. Reifenstein, Lt. Col. Warburton's Staff Adjutant, is here. I propose sending him on tomorrow or next day by the Land Route. I transmit for y'r Ex'cy's information some instructions that I have issued for the formation of the incorporated Militia: that plan has already been acted on to such an extent that I conceive it would be impolitic to publish the "Conditions for Local Fencibles," which I have just received from Col. Baynes.

R. H. SHEAFFE

To Sir GEORGE PREVOST, *B't.*

AGAIN, THE MILITARY CHEST.

YORK, 5th April, '13

SIR: By direction of Sir Roger H. Sheaffe I send you an Extract of a Letter from D'y Comm'ry Gen'l Couche of 19th March and also a letter from same Gentleman 31st March. In addition to the information contained in the Extract, I am desired to acquaint you that the £5,810 was the amount of the estimate to 24th Febry, and that over and above the £41,170 s6 d11½ the amount of that to 24th March is £6,907 s4 d8 making total of £45,077 s5 d7½.

R. R. LORING

NOAH FREER, *Esq. M. S.*

Estimate of clothing for Marine Dep't Lake Erie Account of expenses incurred by Capt'n Hall. From 12 to 20 Saddles & Can only be procured here.

R. R. L.

MEMORANDA.

YORK, 5th April.

The Gen'l orders about Gen'l Coffin's Corps addressed by mistake to Col. Harvey, sent down to Col. Baynes.

R. R. L.

YORK, 5th April.

Copy of a Letter from Lt. Col. Armstrong requiring assistants in B'k Depart. with Sir Roger Sheaffes appt of Mr. John Gray to be Clerk at 1/6 a ration: and 1/4 rooms fuel. Corporal Morgan Newf'd to be issuer of Fuel at 6d pr day.

R. R. LORING

NOAH FREER, *Esq'r, M. S.*

YORK, 5th April.

SIR: I forward accompanying Papers numbered from 1 to 6. The 5 first being copies of Information rec'd from Capt Roberts & the 6th a muster Role & Pay List of Canadian Volunteers at Mackinac.

R. R. LORING

NOAH FREER, *Esq'r, M. S.*

AN OFFICE FOR ENSIGN FROBISHER.

YORK, 5th April, '13

SIR: I have received your letter of the 26th March: Lt. Col. Sherwood should confine his recruiting to his own District, until the Corps to be raised in a neighbouring one is completed, when it may be extended to it.

I expect a Lt. Col. to form a Corps of Eight companies: With a smaller number of Men a Major only will be allowed. There is some Mistake about "an officer of the Adj't General's Department." I wished to know if there was a fit person to name to me as an assistant for that Dep't in the Militia. I shall be very happy to nominate Ensign Frobisher if it be assented to at Head Quarters. You may appoint Mr. Frobisher to act in the meantime. He

will be allowed (if confirmed 5/ a day from the time he commences duty as Ass't Adj't Gen'l of Militia, and forage for a Horse and 1/6 a day for a Clerk. Also the Rank (in the Militia only) of Captain and allowances.

I have written to Mr. Couche respecting any vouchers for Militia expenses in your District which he may have in his possession and to send those down that may not have been favorably decided on.

I wish to have a Report from you on the app't of Paymasters in your Districts. A Letter from the D'y Pay M Gen'l says: "Mr. McLean informs me that he is no longer Pay Master, a Lieut. John Kerr having been appointed from 25th Febry." This requires explanation, as I am ignorant of any authority having been given for such an appointment. I some time ago asked for information on the competency of one Paymaster, in your two Districts: I will thank you to furnish me with it.

R. H. SHEAFFE.

Lt. Col. McDONELL, &c., Prescott.

YORK, 6th April, 1813.

Copy of a Letter from M[ilitary] S[ecretary] sent to Colonel Elliott—appointments in Indian Dep't approved. viz.:

Jan. 15th Richerville, Chief of the Miamies, to be Capt. in Indian Dep't, to head his own nation.

Louis Campeau, a Canadian, in the Michigan Territory, to be an Interpreter.

Alexander Ironside to be an Interpreter.

R. R. LORING

6th April

A copy of the foregoing sent to Colonel Claus, as also an extract from Capt Robert's Letter respecting Mr. Livingston's being struck off the list of Interpreters—praying his restoration.

R. R. LORING.

NEWS FROM THE WEST—SHEAFFE TO PROCTER.

YORK, 6th April

MY DEAR GENERAL: I have this day received a Despatch from Head Quarters informing me that half a company of Artillery—The Kings Regt. 6 comp'ys of 104th four comp's Glengarys, and four companies of Voltigeurs were ordered to reinforce me. On the arrival of the Kings & Glengarys at Fort George all the 41st are to be sent up to you and part at least with all possible expedition. By the first opportunity you will forward to Captain Roberts the detach't of Veterans destined for him last year. There are about forty more to be selected from those at Kingston and sent up as early as possible. I have lately rec'd Letters from him to 19th March. Gen'l Clark with 4000 men was ascending the Mississippi, with the intention of gaining Lake Michigan by the Quisconsin,¹ from which there is but a short distance to Waters that run into that Lake.

The Sioux and Neighbouring Indian Tribes had declared a determination to oppose the Americans, who are encouraged by a belief that they are without ammunition but Capt'n Roberts had sent Ten Barrels of Powder to the principal War Chief of the Sioux, & directed all that could be found in the Traders stores to be taken for their use. It has been signified to me in a Letter from the M. S. that it is His Excellency's wish that Capt Roberts' demands may be complied with as early as the Season will admit and that directions would also be given to that end to the Departments concerned, at Quebec. Provisions, Ammunition & sundry Articles for the Indians are what he will most want, supplies of which, or such as you can possibly spare, you will cause to be forwarded agreeably to His Excellency's Commands. There are Provisions destined for Amherstburg at Long Point (at Charlotteville I understand) for which it will be prudent to send as early as possible. There is something in the retiring of Norton that seems to displease Sir George Prevost. Be so good as to explain the matter to me. You will not neglect to convey to all the Indian Nations our auxiliaries, with the customary ceremonies, the assurance rec'd from His Majesty, that in the

1. One of the early forms of "Wisconsin," more properly "Ouisconsin."

event of a negotiation the security of the Indian Territory will not be forgotten. The answer to the Memorial from the Western District is transmitted to Mr. Pattinson.¹ I am informed by His Excellency that he has appointed Mr. R. Dickson D'y Superintendent of Indians in Michigan and the conquered Territory and he recommends to me "to vest in B'r Gen'l Procter sufficient authority to enable him to support Mr. Dickson in his organization of the Indians from the Westward, and in his endeavors to check the prodigal expenditure of Provisions and to establish strict impartiality in the treatment they experience from us; so that His Majesty's gracious bounty may flow thro' the channel in which it was intended."

You will therefore act conformably thereto, and it is farther required that all practicable means be adopted to soften the ferocity of the usual mode of warfare of the Indians, and to restrain them in it.

I send a packet for Capt. Roberts open that you may see the plan of Local Fencibles, which was prepared before they had learnt below, what had been adopted by this Legislature. I of course do not mean to act on these "Conditions" tho' Captain Roberts is instructed to do so. They are better calculated for him than the Incorporated system: indeed it can not be extended to Mackinac, nor can the eight dollars be given to Local Fencibles. I hope soon to hear about your proposed Corps.

R. H. SHEAFFE

To Brig'r Gen'l PROCTER,
Detroit.

SIR ROGER SHEAFFE TO B'R GEN'L VINCENT.

YORK 7th April 1813

To prepare for an add'l force. Col. Young at York. Batteaux to be sent here to convey the Troops. *The Plan* not to be undertaken. Q'r M's Gen'l Depart't to be employed in regulating the carrying Dispatches. The Demand made by the people on the Detroit side to be laid before Board of accounts, or a Board for the purpose, for its

1. Name doubtful, but so in original MS.

opinion on it. Major Simons Corps to be considered in the arrangement for Provisions from the H'd of the Lake Party. Extract from the [*illegible*] table supposed to be wrong. Dr. Thorn to write to Dr. Redmond about it. Authorities, circular letter, & improved form of enrolment—Printed one incorrect. 8 Saddles & Bridles in Pro'l Store. Form of Certificate returned. If something can not be done for Sparkman. The order of 19th Jan'y sh'd have been acted on at Fort George. A Board to assemble and decide on the value of the Deserters Arms &c. Nails, Glass & Putty are ordered for Fort George for preparing Quarters. On the arrival of the Kings & four companies of the Glengary at Fort George the whole of the 41st are to move to Amherstburg and part at least to be sent with the utmost expedition, for the prompt execution of which you will make every preparation in your power, prior to the arrival of these corps.

R. H. SHEAFFE

To B'r Gen'l VINCENT.

MORE TROOPS FOR THE NIAGARA.

YORK, 7th April, 1813.

DEAR SIR: I have caused a statement to be transmitted to H'd Quarters of the probable amount of the sum for which a warrant will be required to relieve you from the charge of the Militia Vouchers.

I do not think it fair to trouble the D'y P. M's Gen'l of Militia about disbursements prior to his app't. I therefore mean to have those vouchers to which you allude put into the hands of the Inspector Gen'l of Provincial accounts.

I trust that every exertion is making to add to our number of Batteaux. We shall feel the want of more of them in the movement of the Troops now on their way to Niagara from below. Lt. Col. McDonell Comm'g at Prescott & Lower District informs me that Boards of acct's are ordered to assemble at Prescott and Cornwall, but that some vouchers which have been sent up are wanted to assist the Boards in certain cases. If you have any such will you be so good as to transmit them to Lt. Col. McDonell. I have written to B. Gen'l Procter & recommended him to send as

early as possible to Long Point (Charlotteville) for the Provisions collected there for his district. He is also directed to forward some to M Mackinack.

R. H. SHEAFFE

G. COUCHE, *Esq'r.*

VARIOUS NOTATIONS.

7th April, 1813, YORK.

Capt'n Loring to Capt Roberts. Conditions of enlistment as rec'd from Colonel Baynes:

SIR: I have been directed by Sir Roger H. Sheaffe to send you the following extract from a Letter addressed to him by Colonel Baynes.

His Ex'cy would also approve of Captain Roberts having power to enlist thirty men as Fencibles, to serve during the War and to grant them a bounty the same as is proposed for other Corps of that description in Upper Province.

EDWARD BAYNES
Adj't Gen.

I send the conditions of enlistment with this and Sir Roger desires me to remark to you that the "Eight dollars mentioned in them as outfit granted by the Province" cannot be given to *Local Fencibles* having been *granted* for Incorporated Militia, which cannot be formed at Michilimackinac. You are however authorized to give 18 dollars, agreeably to the spirit of the conditions & directions received from Colonel Baynes.

R. R. LORING

Capt. ROBERTS, &c

7th April.

Capt. Loring to Col. Harvey with General Orders rec'd from Quebec. Two Monthly Returns from Mackinac & St Josephs Garrisons, & of Canadian Volunteers there also D. G. O Appts in 15th [?] Dept and NewfLand Recruiting Postes.

R. R. LORING

GEN. SHEAFFE TO COL. PEARSON.

YORK, 7th April.

SIR: I have received your two letters of the 2d April and lament you have so unfavorable a report to make of the Inc'd Militia. If you have the clothing for it you have authority to issue it. 40 of the veterans at Kingston to be in readiness for M Mackinac. I would embark them in boats & send them up the bay. I think it prudent to have a party at the head of the Bay. A few Regulars and Militia with a discreet, vigilant officer. I have not noticed Ensign Hawley's call in General Orders. You will please to admonish him in the presence of his comm'g officer and of Colonel Cartwright, after which he may be released from his arrest.

R. H. SHEAFFE

Colonel PEARSON

N. B. Extract of a Letter from the Commander of the Forces sent.

I send down directions to Lt. Col. Peters to post a Captain with 50 men at Newcastle of which you will apprise the Officer who may be appointed to command at the carrying place; and instruct him to concert with Lt. Col. Peters or the Capt Comm'g that party some mode of communication and of mutual support in case of necessity.

R. H. S.

THE "INCORPORATED MILITIA" A SUCCESS.

YORK, 7th April.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 25th March accompanying "Conditions proposed for raising Corps of local Fencibles" & which cannot now be acted on, as the plan of Incorporated Militia adopted by the Legislature of this Province is in operation and with some success. Every facility will be afforded for completing the establishment of the Glengary Light Infantry comp'y order'd to Niagara.

R. H. SHEAFFE

Colonel BAYNES.

OPERATIONS AT YORK.

YORK, 7th April, '13

SIR: Acknowledgment of your Letter of 29th March with Gen'l orders for movement of Troops &c. Boats sent for to Fort George and Head of the Lake, and orders go down by Major Bouchette for all that can be found about the Lake shore & head of Bay of Quintè, to be assembled at carrying place. I some days ago sent down an officer to press a Boat or two to bring up some naval stores that have been left on the route. We have but few Batteaux at present at Fort George & this Post, but some are building at both places. B'r Gen'l Vincent is instructed to have the companies of 41st in readiness to move to Amherstburg. 25 picked Veterans were sent to Amherstburg last year with intention of being forwarded to St. Josephs'. Gen'l Procter is directed to embark them in the first vessel for M Mackinac, and I shall instruct Colonel Pearson to have 40 selected Men of same corps ready when they can move in Boats.

A copy of the "Conditions" has been forwarded to Captain Roberts, with instruction to offer 18 dollars bounty according to the spirit of them, as there cannot be any Incorporated Militia at Mackinac. I transmit copy of Letter from Lt. Col. McLean applying for Capt'n McPherson as Major. I have appointed Capt'n Herlihy [?] to act as Ass't D'y B'r Mr [?] Gen'l until the pleasure of his Exc'y be known. Having rec'd a representation from Colonel Myers that the Service would be inconvenienced by his being appointed to the Command on this side the Lake and thereby separated from me, I now propose placing Colonel Young in the Command with a portion of his Regiment & moving N. F. L'd to Niagara Line. 2 12prs mounted—6 18prs and hope to have more ready in a few days. furnaces for hot shot &c Artillery men from Incorporated Militia instructed. I am retiring Provisions, ammunition &c from their present exposed situation. About 150 Indians near us here & more expected. More Militia called in and the Inhabitants of the Town & Dock Yard men armed &c If you can obtain a copy of Regulations last published I should be glad to have them. A Return of Deserters is sent herewith. They are here. I shall en-

deavor to make them useful. A Board at Fort George to value the Arms &c they brought with them.

R. H. SHEAFFE

Colonel BAYNES.

ENSIGN FROBISHER'S SERVICE.

YORK, 7th April, 1813.

MY DEAR COLONEL: Lt. Col. McDonell has recommended Ensign Frobisher of Glengarys as an ass't in the Adjutant General's Depart. in the Districts under his command which I hope will favor with your support & apply to the Commander of the Forces for his permission, & as in the case of Capt'n McPherson, apprise Lt. Col. McDonell of the decision of Sir George upon it. I have authorized his being so employed in the meantime. I propose giving him 5/ pr day—forage for a horse—1/6 a day for a Clerk, Rank of Captain in the Militia only (& allowances of that Rank). The Assistant Adjutants General in the other command who have no other appointments have Captain's Rank, pay & allowances, forage for one horse, 1/6 day for a clerk. The ass't Q'r M'r serjeant of 49th Reg't (a highly deserving man with a large family) to act as Q'r M'r to the Incorporated Militia, which I shall permit till the Commander of the Forces shall declare his pleasure thereon.

R. H. SHEAFFE.

To Colonel BAYNES.

YORK, 7 April 1813.

SIR: I transmit a petition addressed to Sir George Prevost, by Ensign P. C. Emry, & request that you will cause a Court of Enquiry to be assembled to examine into and Report on the allegations it contains, unless, on enquiry into them yourself you find the circumstances to be such as, in your opinion do render a Report from you sufficient.

I am Sir, Your very humble serv't

R. H. SHEAFFE

Lieut. Col. McDONELL.

SHEAFFE TO PREVOST.

YORK, 8th April, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's *confidential* letter of the 27th of March: I shall pay a due observance to all the points to which my attention is directed in that as well as in your private letter of the 18th of March received at the same time. Lt. Colonel Armstrong and Major Clerk set out for Fort George yesterday and Staff Adjutant Reiffenstein for Amherstburg—by them all necessary instructions were transmitted to Brigadier Generals Vincent & Procter. In my communication to Colonel Baynes, are details of matters to be laid before your Excellency, either for your information or decision.

I have the honor to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE,
M. Gen'l

His Exc'y
Sir GEORGE PREVOST

GEN. SHEAFFE TO BRIG. GEN. VINCENT.

YORK, 10th April, 1813.

MY DEAR GENERAL: There is an error about the War-rant, it was sent to be filled up with the sum that the D'y Pay M'r Gen. would require for the Month. As for his Estimate of £9546: s7: d1½: it does not agree with the one sent to me which was under £7000. Colonel Pearson has been written to about Mr. Shaw and Macauley. Lt. Colonel Shortt if he decline the leave he asked for, must of course go up with his Regt. The Proposition between the officers and Men of the Militia is monstrous. Supernumeraries must be employed in collecting their men. My intention respecting the head of the Lake, was, to send 60 men from the 2d York & 4th and 5th Lincoln, with Major Hatt, Capt'n Wm Crooks to join the Detach't of Regular Troops. When that takes place the other Militia Party may return to Fort George. I mean to leave the Grenadiers and a

Batt'n Comp'y of the Kings with Colonel Young here, & perhaps a Comp'y of the Glengarys also (to recruit)

R. H. SHEAFFE

To B'r Gen'l VINCENT, &c.

YORK, 10th April, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting a representation from the Acting Q'r M'r Gen'l which I beg leave to recommend to the favorable consideration of His Excy the Commander of the Forces

R. H. SHEAFFE

To NOAH FREER, Esq. &c

GEN. SHEAFFE TO COL. BAYNES.

YORK, 14th Ap'l, 1813.

MY DEAR COLONEL: The companies of Captains McPherson and Roxburgh¹ are here with the exception of part of that of the former—the boat in which it embarked not having been able to keep out on the Lake for two or Three Days past, the weather having been too boisterous. It has also prevented other boats coming from the head of the Lake—but it being moderate today I have sent five boats down, and I expect some from the westward, which will probably enable me to despatch further aid to the Troops below: I do not mean to give them the assistance of boats further than the head of the lake, as from thence the road is much better both for Marching and for waggons. The wind & weather have retarded the fitting out a sloop which I have caused to be purchased, but I hope to have her ready in a day or two to go to Newcastle to bring up some troops, baggage & Stores. I propose leaving Capt'n McPherson's company here at least for the present, and to place Colonel Young here with the command in the Home and Newcastle district giving him Two Companies of the Kings. I have not yet heard from Fort George since the date of my last Letter. I suppose the Ice is in motion there and prevents any communication between the two sides. Lt. Col. Hughes arrived three days ago, and is employed in establishing

1. Elsewhere spelled "Roxborough."

some arrangements for his Department here; when completed he will proceed to Fort George. The Militia Clothing is not arrived, but we have supplies of Shoes, Mogosins, Stockings & Flannel made and unmade.

Old Commissary Warren is reported very ill. Mr. Stanton goes to Fort Erie to act in his place. We have Ice yet in the harbour & I have not learnt that Kingston is in such a state as to authorize the sailing of the *Prince Regent*; I wish to give that vessel the benefit of the first strong west or Northwest wind.

R. H. SHEAFFE

Colonel BAYNES &c

MEMORANDA.

YORK, 15th April, 1813.

Capt'n Richardson is hereby authorized to purchase a new boat said to be at or near the Carrying Place at Presque Isle, and built or belonging to a Man by the name of Gibson. To be paid for by the Commissariat at York or Kingston as may be agreed upon. By order.

ROBERT R. LORING, A. D. C.

YORK, 15th April, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of representing to Your Excellency that the sum of £20,000 is required for the civil expenditure of this Province: I therefore request that you will be pleased to grant your Warrant for that sum in favor of the Receiver Gen'l.

R. H. SHEAFFE

To His Exc'y Sir GEORGE PREVOST, B't, &c

A Letter to the Military Secretary (the above was enclosed in it) to say that the copies of the Warrants for £25,000 and £12,000 are received, and that besides the £5,000 already asked for a warrant as above Stated is required.

R. H. S.

A "MITIGATED" FLOGGING.

YORK, 16th April, '13.

SIR: I this day rec'd your Letter of the 2d of this month with its several enclosures. It was sent down to Kingston having been put with others into the packet for that place. Care must be taken to prevent a recurrence of that mistake. Directions go to the Dep'y Adj't Gen'l to publish an order, approving the Sentence of the Gen'l Court Martial mitigating that of Private Walsh to 250 Lashes, and Shanahan to 300 and dissolving the Court. A Regt'l Court Martial to be assembled in the 41 Regt, to try Private Michael La Madlin for absenting himself without leave. Lt. Col. Hughes will proceed to Fort George as soon as possible. I have today seen the Instructions sent by the D'y P. Mas. Gen'l of Militia. they appear to be *literally* copied from those sent up from below instead of being modified to make them more applicable to this province.

R. H. SHEAFFE

Brig'r Gen'l VINCENT.

FUNDS FOR THE MILITIA.

YORK, 17th April, 1813.

DEAR SIR: The set of Vouchers which you mentioned in your Letter of the 10th inst. as being sent to Mr. Crookshank, not having arrived, a final arrangement cannot be made with the Receiver General as proposed, but as the D'y Pay M'r Gen'l of Militia must be in need of funds to enable the several Paymasters to pay the Militia in their Districts, I wish you to pay to him the ballance according to your Statement (£9774: 512: d5/4) which sum may be inserted in the warrant enclosed to Brig'r Gen. Vincent, to serve as a temporary voucher, or you may take Mr. McDonnell's receipt as may be thought best.

R. H. SHEAFFE

EDWARD COUCHE, *Esq'r*.

DETAILS OF SERVICE—CAPT. NORTON IN DEMAND.¹

YORK, 19th April, 1813.

SIR: I have the honor of transmitting to your Excellency the copy of a Letter which I have received from Mr. Dickson, with extracts of Letters from Brigadiers Generals Vincent and Procter, and the Copy of one from Capt'n Johnston 49th Regt, respecting Lieut. Dudley, U. S. Navy lately taken Prisoner. He and his companions have not yet arrived here; they must be detained here, a short time as all the Boats I can procure will be employed in bringing up Troops Stores & Baggage. One Company of the Kings has proceeded to Fort George, a half company arrived last night, and goes on to day, and I expect a comp'y (Capt'n Goldrick) at noon which will also proceed to day, and 5 boats go down the Lake to bring up the Militia Clothing (which I have just learnt has been left about 70 miles from hence.) and also to furnish aid to the Troops on their march. I have for some time daily expected the arrival of Col. Young, having been informed by Lt. Kerr Glengary's that he was to come on without delay, for Fort George but I have the mortification of being told today that he is to remain at Kingston until his Regt has passed that post. I have however consolation for having been so long detained here, in the belief that it has proved in some degree beneficial to the service. I have written to Col. Young to hasten his progress towards me.

Capt'n Norton is here and is so urgent for my assent to his going back to Detroit, pleading that he had engaged his word to the Indians there for his speedy return that I cannot withhold it; he promises not to stay long away from me, but I part with him, even for a short time, with great reluctance.

R. H. S.

To Sir GEORGE PREVOST, B't.

TO GENERAL PROCTER.

20th April, '13.

MY DEAR GENERAL: I have received your Letters of the 3d, 5th and 9th April. I have not yet heard from head

1. In Canadian Archives. Cruikshank, Doc. Hist., v, 156.

Quarters respecting the new Corps. I ordered your 6th comp'y to be sent on. No report has been made to me of the cause of its detention. I have given positive orders that the Companies of the 41st shall be pushed on in succession as those of the Kings arrive. The remainder of the 3d Comp'y goes on tomorrow and a number of Boats have gone and are going to assist the others. The suggestion of the Dorchester Mills [?] will be attended to. There is no other "Warrant" necessary for the Gen'l Court Martial than my order for its assembling &c I have no objection to establishing Capt'n Woods as Acting Judge Advocate, and Appointing Col. J. Baby President. Indeed it would have been more regular that the Complaint should have come thro' him. I believe it was made direct to the Adj't General by his Brother. Colonel Claus will be consulted on the proposed appointments in his Department. I enclose a copy of the new mode of paying the Indian Department at Amherstburg, which I have proposed in a Letter to Head Quarters. I have sent to Sir George a copy of Mr. Dicksons Letter. Norton leaves me at the time that his aid is likely to be most essential to me. He is the only leader of Indians that I can repose confidence in or expect much assistance from, and that I thought more peculiarly my own as being attached to the Indians near the Niagara Frontier. He promises to stay but a short time but that will be a critical one. You will not neglect sending Captain Roberts as early as possible all the aid he needs which you can spare he complains of ill health.

R. H. S.

B'r Gen'l PROCTER.

SHEAFFE TO PROCTER.

YORK, 20th April.

With your other letters acknowledged in mine of this date arrived yours of 12th March to Major Glegg which he had delayed forwarding expecting my arrival at Fort George. I approve of your appointing a board to estimate the value of the *Detroit, Mary, and Salina*, appointing as far as may be practicable persons qualified for the office and at the same time disinterested. You will also adopt any other

measures which can tend to accelerating the settlement of the claims on acc't of the Capture made on 16th last August. I shall proceed in a few days for Fort George when I shall decide on your application for Lt. Col. Nicholls going up. I some time ago sent down to Quebec for information to aid the proposed board in framing regulations for the distribution of Prize Money &c

R. H. S.

B'r Gen'l PROCTER

YORK, 21st April, '13.

(Sent to Amherstburg by Capt'n Norton to Gen'l Procter)

Extract of a Letter addressed to Major Glegg by Capt'n Roberts 7th March Michilimackinac (this ought to have been sent before but was forgot.)

To Capt'n Chambers: I approve Estimate (1) for fitting out *Queen Charlotte* (2) for Do *Lady Prevost*, to navigate Lake Erie for the year 1813.

GEN. SHEAFFE ASKS FOR MEDALS FOR OFFICERS WHO SERVED
AT QUEENSTON.

PENZANCE, June 7th, 1815.

SIR: I having been informed that it is in contemplation to grant Medals to Officers of certain ranks and descriptions who were present in the affairs which took place at Detroit, Chateaugay, & Krystler's Farm,¹ I think it my duty in behalf of the Officers of corresponding ranks & descriptions who were present in the action with the Enemy at Queenston in Upper Canada, on the 13th of October 1812 to recall to Y. Ex'y notice their pretensions, entertaining the hope that they will be deemed worthy of your support, and that you will be pleased to recommend them for a similar distinction.

I have the honour of enclosing herewith the names of

1. An erroneous spelling. John Chrysler's farm, where the battle of Nov. 11, 1813, was fought, was on the Canadian shore of the St. Lawrence, between present Morrisburg and Cornwall. It is usually called the battle of Chrysler's Field, and sometimes the battle of Williamsburg, from a near-by village.

Officers of certain ranks &c who were engaged with the Enemy on that occasion.

I have the honour to be

R. H. SHEAFFE &c

L. Gen'l Sir G. PREVOST

*Late Gov. Gen'l & Comm'g the Forces
in the Province of B. N. America*

*Names of Officers of certain ranks etc. engaged with the
Enemy at Queenston Upper Canada on the 13th of Oct'r
1812.*

Captains,

DERENZY, Comm'g 41st Reg't.

HOLCROFT, Comm'g the Roy'l Artillery in Upper
Canada.

Lt. Colonels,

BUTLER, Comm'g a Corps of Militia.

CLARK, Comm'g a Corps of Militia.

Captain NORTON, Comm'g a Body of Indians.

PENZANCE, 7th June, 1815.

R. H. SHEAFFE

NOTE—The above referred to in Letter N:1—of this date.

AN AFTERTHOUGHT FOR PROCTER AND VINCENT.

PENZANCE, 7th June, 1815.

SIR: In addition to my letter of this date I beg leave also to propose to Your Excellency's consideration the pretensions of M. Gen'l Procter & of the officers who acted with him in the defeat and capture of the American General Winchester and his corps, and those of M. Gen'l Vincent and of the Officers who shared in the gallant surprise and driving back of a very superior force of the Enemy at Stony Creek near the head of Lake Ontario.

I have the honour to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE.

TO EARL BATHURST.

PENZANCE, 7th June, 1815.

MY LORD: I have the honour of transmitting to Your Lordship copies of letters &c which I have addressed to H. E. Sir G. Prevost, the purpose of which not being, I trust, such as will expose it to Your Lordship's disapprobation, I venture to hope that it will be honoured by your fav'ble consideration and support.

I have the honour to be &c

R. H. SHEAFFE

The R. Hon'ble Earl BATHURST.

EDINBURGH, 23rd June, 1819.

MY LORD: I hope that I shall not be deemed intrusive & troublesome in requesting that I may be favoured with a copy of the letter which Y[our] L[ordship] so courteously promised to address in my behalf to H. R. H. the Comm'r in Chief; but, if the pressure of public business have as yet prevented Y. L's attention to a subject comparatively so trivial, may I be allowed to entreat that in addition to the favour which I already owe to Y. L's goodness, you will be pleased to transmit the letter through me, as I have a document to lay before H. R. H. which I am particularly desirous should have the support which a testimonial from Y. L. is so well calculated to afford.

I have the honour to be &c

R. H. S.

The R't Hon'ble The Earl BATHURST.

 AFTER MANY YEARS.

EDINBURGH, 9th Dec'r, '48

SIR: I have the honour of forward'g herewith a Memorial in Duplicate addressed to you by Captain Carmichael the Paymaster of my Reg't (the 36th) the state of whose health is such as to render him desirous of retiring from the service, and should he be permitted to do so I beg leave to recommend as his successor in the Office of Paymaster Q'r

M'r Stuart of my Regiment who is in all respects well qualified to perform the duties of the Office

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your most Obedient
Humble Servant

R. H. SHEAFFE
Gen'l & Col. 36th Reg't

IN BEHALF OF QUARTERMASTER STUART.

EDINB: 8th June, 1849

SIR: I had the honour of receiving yours of the 4th late yesterday, in which you request me to submit for your approval the name of an officer not under the rank of Lieut. duly qualified to succeed to the Paymastership of the 36th Regiment, but not knowing of the claims or pretensions of any other person but those of Q'r M'r Stuart, I again venture to plead for them: on the score of finance his appointment would be a saving to the Public, as he is entitled to a much higher rate of half pay than 4/— per diem. Dr. Russell, the surgeon of my Reg't being in London perhaps you may deem it proper to call upon him for a Medical Certificate unless the inclosed opinion from him be deemed sufficient. Every officer in my Reg't is so interested in Mr. Stuart's welfare on account of his high character that I feel justified in stating that the result of my exertions in his behalf will be anxiously looked for by the whole Regiment.

I have the honour to be Sir, Your most ob't hble Servant,

R. H. S.

APPENDIX

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BUFFALO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

1912 — 1913



BRONZE TABLET, COMMEMORATING THE SERVICE OF ANDREW LANGDON AS PRESIDENT AND HONORARY LIFE PRESIDENT OF THE
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. THIS GIFT OF MR. LANGDON IS PLACED ABOVE THE SPEAKER'S PLATFORM
IN THE LECTURE HALL OF THE HISTORICAL BUILDING.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The character of the preceding volume of this series ("The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo") made it advisable to defer a continuation of the Proceedings of this Society till the issuance of the present work. The Proceedings which follow therefore take up the record of the Society's activities at the point where it ends in volume Fifteen.

THE BUFFALO MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and the Mississippi Valley Association held their annual meetings, December 27, 28 and 29, 1911, in Buffalo, by invitation of the Buffalo Historical Society, and were its guests, and the guests of other institutions and organizations which shared in offering courtesies. The headquarters of the associations were at the Hotel Statler, where many of the sessions were held; but as the programme called for numerous meetings of the several societies, or sections of them, at the same hours, several convenient auditoriums in the city were used. Some of the meetings of the Historical Association were held in the Historical Building, where, on December 29th, the Buffalo Historical Society gave a luncheon and reception to all delegates.

Notwithstanding some unfavorable weather, the meetings as a whole were marked by good attendance, while the papers and discussions were in high degree valuable and interesting.

The opening meeting, a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association, was held on Wednesday evening, December 27th, in Perkins Memorial Hall. The presiding officers were Professor William M. Sloane of Columbia University, and Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, Governor of Connecticut, presidents respectively of the American Historical Association and the American Political Science Association. The

address of welcome, delivered by Hon. Henry W. Hill, President of the Buffalo Historical Society, was as follows:

PRESIDENT HILL'S ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

Professor Sloane, President of the American Historical Association; Governor Baldwin, President of the American Political Science Association; members of these associations, ladies and gentlemen:

We were deeply gratified at your acceptance of the invitation of the Buffalo Historical Society and of other local organizations to hold your meetings this year in this city, and on behalf of all such organizations and of our citizens generally, we bid you a most cordial welcome to Buffalo and to its institutions, which are open to receive you and to extend such courtesies and hospitality as they may.

We are pleased to see so large a representation from the Atlantic, Southern, Central and Western States and from Canada, and also to welcome the distinguished delegates from foreign lands.

Your coming has been anticipated with deep interest, and we felicitate our citizens and ourselves upon the pleasure of meeting so many members of your associations and upon the edifying entertainment to be provided by your speakers for those of us who can attend your meetings. We trust that your sojourn here may afford opportunity for the renewal of acquaintances and the forming of many new ones and for your becoming better acquainted with our city, its Historical Society and superb building, its Albright Art Gallery, its libraries, its literary, scientific and other educational and professional institutions, its social clubs, and last, but not of least importance, with its extensive commerce, far exceeding that of Venice, when it was the chief maritime port of Europe.

From the building of the Griffon by La Salle in 1679, on the Niagara river, the first vessel to navigate the upper Great Lakes, down to the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, when Buffalo became the gateway between the East and the West, and more noticeably since that time, its location has been recognized as unique for the building up of a great emporium of trade, which it has become and through which the tides of traffic and travel flow on yearly in increasing volume.

Buffalo's water-borne tonnage during the seven months of lake navigation this year is estimated at approximately 14 million tons, Among the principal articles of such tonnage were 122 million bushels of grain, 61-2 million barrels of flour, 39-10 million tons of coal, 68-10 million tons of iron ore, 591 tons of sugar, 874,000 barrels of cement, 314,000 barrels of salt, 104 1-3 million feet of lumber, and various other commodities. It is believed that this water-borne commerce will be largely augmented with the completion of the barge canal now in the process of construction, which will afford still better communication between the Great Lakes and the tide-waters of the Hudson river.

Buffalo has also a vast commerce over its extensive railways, inter-communicating with all parts of the United States and Canada.

In volume Buffalo's water-borne commerce now rivals during the period of navigation the foreign commerce of Liverpool, Amsterdam and Hamburg, whose influence in molding the character of European civil institutions is recognized by statesmen and writers on political science. In the historical development of states and nations, consideration may well be given to the interplay of important trade relations and the expansion and advantages of extensive commerce, which in the sweep of its influence, in the language of the late Mr. Bancroft, "defies every wind, outrides every tempest and invades every zone."

We need not dwell further, however, on the business aspects of this Queen City of the Lakes, which draws its electric power from Niagara and whose trolley cars are propelled and its streets in part lighted by that power. You may, however, be interested in a brief allusion to the catastrophe, which befel Buffalo during the War of 1812. On July 4th of that year Buffalo was only a small village and Black Rock no larger, but both were menaced by the British at Fort Erie and vicinity. The Americans assembled along the Niagara frontier, and for nearly two years the entire territory was involved in war, which resulted in the rout of the Americans, the burning of Buffalo and Black Rock, the massacre of some and flight of other inhabitants and the destruction of their property. On December 31, 1813, Buffalo and Black Rock lay in ruins, and on the following day the torch was applied to the six remaining buildings, so that all, with the exception of one house, were in ashes that evening. Thus were the orders of the British officer carried out as literally as those urged upon the Romans by Cato, the elder, who declared that "*Delenda est Carthago.*" Death and desolation marked the place where once stood the settlement of Buffalo.

The township was established in 1810, the village was incorporated in 1816, and the city in 1832. Its population in 1910, was 423,715.

We believe that your meeting here will also afford an opportunity to become better acquainted with the Niagara Frontier, the halting place of traders, travelers and expeditions en route up the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes region—whose civil history from 1626 to the close of the War of 1812-1814, is a record of their coming and going as well as the coming and going of missionaries, explorers and pioneers on their way to christianize the aborigines, to discover new territory and found new settlements in and about the Great Lakes; and whose military history is a record of its sovereign control by the French, British and American nations and of the conflicts that led to that succession.

Fort Niagara has existed since 1726. and has been successively in the possession of the troops of France, Great Britain and of the United States. It passed from the control of the French to the British in 1759, and from the British, who evacuated it in 1796, thirteen years after the Treaty of Peace, to the United States.

This territory, forming as it does the boundary between two great nations and having been the highway of trade and travel for three centuries, is rich in its historical associations and may well receive the attention of all interested in the development of our political institutions. The Buffalo Historical Society was founded principally to discover, procure and preserve historical material

relating to this region. So much interest has been taken for half a century by the prominent citizens of this city in this research and other historical work that the Buffalo Historical Society has been able to carry out the purposes of its founders and is now supported by taxation as one of the public institutions of this city along with the free Public Library and the Albright Art Gallery. It is, therefore, especially gratifying to our citizens, who are interested in the maintenance of these institutions, to have your associations hold their meetings this year in this city. We realize that the American Historical Association has set a standard for research work in American history, that has been generally adopted by universities and colleges, and that it has awakened a deep interest in the subject of American history, so that several states, as a result of such work, have established and now maintain at public expense historical or archives departments, where research work is systematically carried on.

The work of the American Political Science Association is also of vast importance in enlightening public opinion on many of the perplexing problems of state and federal government. Through the addresses delivered, papers read and published from year to year by the members of the American Political Science Association, there is being disseminated among the people and our cosmopolitan population trustworthy information in relation to the origin, scope and purposes of our republican institutions, which in these later times are occasionally the special objects of insidious attacks on the part of designing demagogues under the shibboleth of some political reform. We realize that there must be progress in our political institutions to meet new conditions, as they arise, and the growing demands of our complex and expanding civilization, and that our political institutions must, to some extent, be responsive to these new conditions and growing demands.

Progress, however, should be along the fundamental lines of our republican form of government, rather than by the introduction of experiments, which, though popular for the time being, may be hazardous to the stability and perpetuity of our institutions and may be but the recrudescence of exploded theories, strewn along the pathway of humanity.

Abuses may be remedied without undermining the entire structure of government by the introduction of measures not in accord with its polity, for quite as much depends upon the intelligence and interest of the electorate in public affairs as upon any special form of governmental agency. The work of the American Political Science Association is therefore timely and of genuine public service, in that its deliberate and critical examination of present day problems in the light of precedents and of our existing institutions will do much towards enlightening the people on these matters and towards pointing the way to the solution of such problems without resorting to perilous experiments that may result from the introduction of radical changes in governmental agencies.

We believe that the papers and addresses scheduled for your Buffalo meetings will do something to reestablish in public opinion the conviction of the adequacy of the provisions of our civil institutions to deal with all such present-day problems. These institutions, founded after an exhaustive examination of the pre-

cedents of many nations evolved through long periods of time by patriots and statesmen, whose knowledge of governmental affairs was extensive and whose loyalty to our country is attested in many ways, ought not to be set aside for light or transient causes at a time when "public opinion," as was said by Isocrates centuries ago, may be as "irregular and as vehement as a winter torrent, that sweeps down all men and all things that it chances to seize," and at a time when passion may be substituted for reason and when prejudice may preclude deliberation. The work of your associations in enlightening the people on such historical and political matters as engage your attention from year to year, in relation to the origin, scope and purposes of the civil and religious institutions of this "noble and puissant nation" is largely a public service, gratuitously performed, for which all students of American history and all persons, owing allegiance to our Government, ought to be grateful.

We most cordially welcome you to our city; and the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the Buffalo Club, the University Club, the Saturn Club, the Twentieth Century Club, the Women Teachers' Association of Buffalo and other local organizations will unite with the Buffalo Historical Society in extending to you such courtesies as they may find it possible to extend during your stay here.

In response, President Sloane of the American Historical Association, spoke as follows:

RESPONSE OF PRESIDENT WM. M. SLOANE.

Senator Henry W. Hill, President of the Buffalo Historical Society,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

The foresight and farsight which bound the Great Lakes and the sea by an artificial waterway have in your great city their most enduring monument: these qualities persist in the stock, as witness the efforts of yourself and your colleagues, Mr. President, to keep that superb artery of traffic abreast with the demands of a new era. The projects which you are realizing insure to the Buffalo of the future the preëminence it has already asserted.

The princes of America are her merchants. To them the higher life of the nation is indebted for all that elevates the soul into the world of letters, of art, and of science; all that makes for idealism in family, in church and in state. They have created the taxing capacity of the state. To this and to their private munificence we are indebted for schools, libraries, colleges and universities with adequate equipment and noble conceptions of their task. To be mercantile and commercial is not to be sordid. That there are, and have been low standards in trade is just as true as that these exist in agriculture and the professions and in every walk of life, and no truer; intensively and extensively.

The two learned associations who have permitted me to be their spokesman in expressing our gratitude for their gracious reception by you and for your cordial hospitality, find themselves at home among you and in sympathy with you. That you long since

mastered the rudiments of political science and are now among the initiated is proven by the legislation you have fostered, the great statesmen you have furnished to the commonwealth and to the nation. May I recall to you that during the years of his retirement I was the next door neighbor and at least the acquaintance of Grover Cleveland, whose career was yours in its initial stages and for whom the basic principles of private and public morality were identical. The political science of that great man was not learned in a community of trimmers and self-seekers.

When it comes to the Historical Association, which has honored me with its presidency for this year, we too may take courage here and go forward. Nowhere more than here has the historic sense been more highly developed. From the beginnings which you have so felicitously enumerated you have been true to the American ideal, welcoming all comers of every stock and every clime who came here for the realization of themselves, in spirit, in energy, in faith, in search of the careers open to all the talents. And you remain so, hospitable to all who are eager for service to the community, in the uplift of themselves, their fortunes and the general good. To make the most of oneself, the unselfish self, is the greatest contribution to mankind. No wonder, therefore, that you have the passion for origins, the true historic zeal.

We are happy to meet under the auspices of Buffalo, and in particular of the Buffalo Historical Society, which with a few others—a very few—stands forth as an example, a shining example to its kind. In the American way, the elevating influences of life are organized privately, then shared by public support, and sometimes when their utility is conclusively proven, continued and perpetuated by the public care under private guidance. You and your associates, Mr. President, and Mr. Secretary Severance, must feel a sober pride in the foundations you have laid. We are your debtors, we and our successors. When you celebrate your fiftieth anniversary under the highest auspices, your splendid building with its precious collections must be the Mecca for every scholar engaged in research about the Niagara Frontier. For this we are deep in your debt; that your collection has been intensive and special, that one portion of the field is especially and peculiarly yours.

We are also in your debt that in this great community you cherish and foster the love of history. Aside from your special collections you open wide the doors to your public for general historic reading; you summon great scholars to stimulate their zeal by lectures, and you make popular the study of history by talks on its romance and illustrations of its beginning. May your work prosper, and may you see it prosper long in your hands. The splendid books you publish take you into all learned institutions. It is a pleasure for learned societies to come to you.

DEDICATION OF THE NEW YORK STATE EDUCATION BUILDING.

At the dedication of the New York State Education Building, in Albany, Oct. 15-17, 1912, President Henry W. Hill was present as one of the speakers and as the representative of the Buffalo Historical Society. On the 17th inst. he extended the greetings of this institution in the following address:

Mr. Chancellor and Gentlemen of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, and Hon. Andrew S Draper, Commissioner of Education:

As President of the Buffalo Historical Society, I am commissioned to bring to you the greetings of the officers and members of that society, which has recently celebrated its semi-centennial anniversary; and to express to you their congratulations on the completion under your supervision, of this noble building, of classic proportions, dedicated to the promotion of popular and higher education. The architecture of this building, to adapt the phrase of Schelling, may be likened unto "frozen music." It is a beautiful temple, housing the state administration forces of popular and higher education, and is the fruition of that sentiment, which expressed itself in the early statutes of the state, authorizing the creation of the Board of Regents; and later, in the Constitutional Amendments of 1894, insuring their perpetuity, to supervise the educational policy of the state.

It was under the inspiration of the Board of Regents and of Commissioner Draper, that the Legislature made the original appropriation for the Education Building, and from that time on Commissioner Draper has been the continuing member on the Commission created to supervise its construction and the guiding spirit in its designing and embellishment. The Regents and the Commissioner of Education felt that New York ought to have an Education Building worthy its high educational standards and in keeping with its imperial prestige in wealth and in general intelligence; and as a result, we have this building. It will become the repository of the State Library and of its priceless collections of historical manuscripts, papers and documents, rescued from the fire of 1911, and of all future acquisitions to the state's collections. The safety from fire provided by this building and the security of the state's properties thus afforded amply justify the expenditure of moneys made in the acquisition of the site and in the construction of the building. We congratulate you on the results attained and believe that you have performed a great public service in planning and constructing this superb building, which symbolizes the broad and scholarly educational policy of the state.

FIFTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

The fiftieth annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building, Tuesday evening, January 9, 1912. President Henry W. Hill presided. The minutes of the last annual meeting were read, and reports of officers were submitted. An amendment to the by-laws, of which notice had been duly given as required by law, was adopted; it is as follows:

"Any member of the Board of Managers who absents himself from the meetings of said Board continuously for six months, without good reason, may be dropped, and his office as Manager declared vacant, at the pleasure of said Board."

Messrs. Albert H. Briggs, M. D., R. R. Hefford, Lee H. Smith, M. D., Willis O. Chapin and Wm. A. Galpin were elected members of the Board of Managers for the ensuing term of four years.

President Hill delivered the annual address of the president, as follows:

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society cordially welcome you to this the fiftieth annual meeting of the society, and deeply appreciate your continued interest in its activities and in its welfare. It has survived the loss of its founders, who pointed the way for its continuing service to the people of this city. Its growth has been steady and its position among the educational institutions of this city is now generally recognized. Its historical manuscripts, papers, pamphlets, biographical, Indian and other collections attest its value and they are being consulted more and more as the years pass.

All classes of citizens frequent its library and museum, and writers and students, engaged in research work, find here material not available elsewhere in Buffalo, and in relation to some matters, not available elsewhere in the state. Our collections are increasing yearly and we would like to make this the repository of all that relates to the genealogy, biography and history of the people of the city and of the Niagara Frontier. We desire also to collect such historical material as may relate to the aboriginal occupation, settlement and possession of this territory since its discovery by the white man. In an age of exhaustive historical research, it is important that this society, founded "to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the history of Western New York

in general and the city of Buffalo in particular, and to gather statistics of the commerce, manufactures and business of the lake region and those portions of the West that are intimately connected with the interests of Buffalo," continue its research work from year to year in this region, collate and preserve such material and data as were contemplated by its founders. Our yearly accessions are in fulfilment of these purposes. We are grateful to all who are donors to our collections. They will be preserved for those who may hereafter trace the history of the life of this region, and the progressive development of our institutions. Here may be found the records of men and measures, that form part of the history of this city. We appeal to all the good people of this city to assist us in this important work.

We cannot fail to be impressed with the work of a similar character carried on the country over by such organizations as were represented at the recent meetings in this city of the American Historical Association. That association and the American Political Science Association, upon the invitation of the Buffalo Historical Society, held their meetings in December, 1911, in this city and were our guests. We were generously assisted in their entertainment by the Buffalo Society of Natural Sciences, the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the Buffalo Club, the University Club, the Saturn Club, the Twentieth Century Club, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Women Teachers' Association and other organizations, for whose courtesies and hospitality, extended to the members of such visiting associations, we are profoundly grateful. We appreciate that these Buffalo organizations did all in their power to make the stay of the visitors exceedingly enjoyable.

President Sloane of the American Historical Association and Governor Baldwin, President of the American Political Science Association, spoke in deep appreciation of all that had been done by such organizations, and by the Buffalo Historical Society. Members of both visiting associations expressed their personal satisfaction with the entertainment provided for them.

The responsibility of perfecting arrangements for these meetings rested largely on our secretary, Mr. Frank H. Severance, whose untiring energy left nothing undone, that could be foreseen, to provide adequate accommodations for their meetings and for their entertainment at this building.

The papers and addresses of their members were such as to awaken still deeper interest in the history and development of American institutions. Although the matters discussed were of a general, rather than of a local character, still they were so related to local conditions and were so thoroughly treated by the various speakers, who were specialists and often expert in their respective fields, that they attracted public attention and were subjects of general comment in the city during the week. The local papers gave some space to a report of the meetings, although they did not report *in extenso* any of the papers or addresses. However, they will appear in the published proceedings of the associations, so that they will be available.

The presence of many noted historians and eminent writers on political science from all parts of the country, from Canada and other foreign countries, is some evidence of the general interest in

these departments of literature, which are now included in the educational systems of all progressive nations. Their yearly papers and addresses are valuable contributions to the historical and political literature of the country, and set the standards for our colleges and universities in these fields of investigation. Their work is of so high an order that it has led to the establishment of historical, or archives departments in several states.

We consider ourselves fortunate in having had them with us, not only on account of the pleasure of meeting so many of the real representatives of that cultured realm, known as the Republic of Letters, but also on account of the intellectual entertainment afforded us and the favorable impression made by them upon our people in the presentation of historical and political matters, involving research work of a high order as well as the analysis of motives and principles, underlying governmental problems and international controversies. The influence, exerted by these organizations upon the communities where they hold their annual meetings as well as upon the people of the country at large, by the dissemination of correct information on all such important state and historical subjects, as receive their consideration, cannot well be over-estimated.

This society is performing a like service in its efforts to discover, procure and preserve historical material relating to the Niagara Frontier. The members of the two visiting associations called attention to the importance of the continued prosecution of the work of the Buffalo Historical Society in its limited but still important field of activity and expressed their approval of what it was doing and had accomplished.

The programme of papers and addresses included the annual address of "The Substance and Vision of History" by Professor William M. Sloane, President of the American Historical Association and the address on "The Progressive Unfolding of the Powers of the United States," by Governor Simeon E. Baldwin of Connecticut, President of the American Political Science Association, two very able and scholarly addresses and many others, all of which will be published and find their way into our library, where they may be consulted, so that further reference thereto need not now be made.

A perusal of these will disclose the broad domain of modern historical research and the analytical treatment, to which all phases of national progress and human achievement are subjected. The historical development of our civil and religious institutions, the contemporary review of economic conditions, growing out of the operation of natural and state laws, and the advance in the arts and sciences, that tend to improve man's social, moral and intellectual status, are all matters deserving and receiving the attention of historical writers as well as of statesmen, and may properly form the basis for serious study by all interested in our progressive civilization. During the last half century, the field of vision has been greatly enlarged, and we no longer limit our historical inquiries to the details of foreign wars and diplomacies and to the intrigues of courts, but rather are extending them to matters of intellectual, social and constitutional progress. We trust that the tocsin of war will soon cease to be sounded and national progress

will depend more upon achievements in the arts of peace to promote the welfare of humanity than upon victories in wars that tend to its destruction. When that time comes, in inventorying our assets, we will take account of what we have accomplished in education and sanitation, in the sciences and in the arts, in professional achievements and the political and economic improvement of the masses, in civil service and municipal reforms, in the social and moral advancement of the people and in all else that makes for the betterment of man. The operation of economic laws and social reforms will then form an important part of our history. What are now the subjects of consideration of the American Political Science Association will then have become matters of history.

Several other associations met in Buffalo during the year 1911, but only one other will receive special mention and that on account of its direct connection with important public terminal improvements in this city, and, therefore, of local interest.

On the invitation of the Mayor and the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers Club of Buffalo, the New York State Waterways Association held its third annual convention at the Statler Hotel in this city on November 1 and 2, 1911. It was attended by delegates from the various political divisions, the civic and commercial organizations of the state. The subjects discussed took a wide range and included "European Terminals," by Hon. Edward A. Bond; "A Greatly Improved Hudson," by William B. Jones of Albany; "The Responsibility for Hydraulic Power Development of the State," by James T. Hutchings, Esq., of Rochester; "The Interest of Northern New York in Water Transportation and Water Power," by Hon. George H. Cobb of Watertown; "The Importance of the Preservation of the Forests," by Col. O. L. Snyder of Buffalo; "Influence of the State and Port of New York upon National Transportation," by Hon. Calvin Tomkins, Commissioner of Docks; "The Barge Canal Terminal Bill," by Hon. George Clinton of Buffalo; "Progress in Barge Canal Improvement," by Hon. Joseph Ripley of Albany; "Importance of the Cayuga and Seneca Canal Improvement," by Hon. Charles E. Treman, State Superintendent of Public Works, and "The Proposed Improvement of Jamaica Bay," by Nelson B. Killmer, Esq., of Brooklyn.

There were approximately two hundred delegates in attendance, and among them were officials and others who at various times and in various ways had cooperated with legislators from this city in formulating and securing the enactment of important legislation, relating to state canals and other public improvements, designed to promote the interests and commercial development of the state, including this city.

The convention was presided over by Hon. P. W. Cullinan of Oswego, and a resolution adopted strongly recommended the approval of the Barge Terminals Law. It is now believed, that the interest aroused in that measure as a result of the meetings of the New York State Waterways Association in Buffalo at that time had much to do in saving it from defeat at the polls on November 7, 1911. Buffalo is to receive from that source money to improve the Ohio and Erie Basins and the Erie Canal from Wilkeson street northwest to the Government twenty-three foot channel, and a further improvement is to be planned in the outer harbor.

In order to enlarge the field of usefulness of the New York State Waterways Association, I, as its president, have recently appointed a committee of representative members, of which Hon. Frank S. Gardner of New York is chairman, to formulate a constitution and by-laws to effect a permanent organization with powers extensive enough to include for its consideration not only transportation by water but also the conservation and development of the state's water powers and forest preservation as essential to the water-sheds of the state. All these matters are becoming of vast importance to the commercial and industrial development of the state, as well as to the health of its citizens. Large water storage reservoirs are now being constructed to impound the flood-waters of the Hudson, the Mohawk and the Black rivers to prevent annual overflows and to supply the new barge canals. Hydraulic power development at Niagara Falls and elsewhere and its varied uses afford illustrations of what may be done with these natural water powers of the state.

At the close of the New York State Waterways Convention some of the delegates were interested in looking about the Buffalo harbor, at the spaciousness and facilities of which they expressed surprise. They were also interested in learning of its commercial importance. In this connection it may be important to note the tonnage at the port of Buffalo in 1911:

Vessels entered with their tonnage:	No.	Tons.
Coastwise	2,621	6,090,818
American vessels in foreign trade	628	730,436
Foreign vessels in foreign trade	76	41,544
Total	3,325	6,862,798
Vessels cleared with their tonnage:	No.	Tons.
Coastwise	2,731	6,418,232
American vessels in foreign trade	576	457,083
Foreign vessels in foreign trade	68	19,444
Total	3,375	6,894,759

The total grain receipts, exclusive of its equivalent of flour in barrels, was 122,664,912 bushels. There was also received 6,978,220 barrels of flour, 104,434,000 feet of lumber, 6,802,901 tons of iron ore, 62,487 tons of pig iron, 99,830 tons of copper, 200,468 tons of merchandise, and other commodities. The total coal shipments from this port were 3,917,408 tons, the salt shipments 314,353 barrels, cement 874,895 barrels, and sugar 1,182,264 barrels. The foregoing were the lake receipts and shipments during 1911, but did not include all the articles that passed through this port, the total tonnage of which was approximately 14 1-2 million tons.

During the past year, this society has lost by death twenty members, including Mr. Charles W. Goodyear, an esteemed colleague of the Board of Managers. A record of these has already been made and will appear in the report of the secretary. These annual losses from our active membership are seriously deplored.

I will not undertake to enumerate all that has been accomplished since our last annual meeting. The work of the society has been systematically carried on and its lectures have been entertaining and well attended. Its Publications are zealously sought after by state and other local historical associations, thus showing their standing among those engaged in this department of literature.

The report of the Secretary and Treasurer will show the business conditions of the society and will contain the resume of its transactions, for the past year, so that I need not detain you longer with a recital of those matters.

There is one matter, however, which will require action in the near future, and that is the forthcoming fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the Buffalo Historical Society. That will afford opportunity to retrace its history and dwell at some length on the work of the men who have been officially identified with it. It will also afford opportunity to express in some suitable manner our appreciation of the services of President Millard Fillmore, and others, who were its founders. We hope that the formal semi-centenary exercises will commemorate the important periods in its career of usefulness to the people of Western New York, whose history is largely preserved in its library.¹

To my colleagues of the Board of Managers, including the city officials, who are ex-officio members and have been with us during the past year, I extend my sincere thanks for their wise counsel and active coöperation in the administration of the affairs of this society. To the people of Buffalo we are profoundly grateful for their continued interest in its welfare.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1911.

READ AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JAN. 9, 1912.

Mr. President, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society—The last report of your Secretary was written on the eve of his departure on a leave of absence, taken primarily for the sake of health. It is proper to state that during my absence, and so long as I remained in warm climates, my health improved. In May, I took up my work again in Buffalo, looking forward hopefully to a long period of application to the Society's affairs. An illness of several weeks, however, followed. It is but just to add, however, that during the period of my absence and sickness, the interests of the institution did not suffer. This happy circumstance was due to the devotion and faithfulness of my associates and staff, one and all.

Although my working term was thus materially shortened, I can report satisfactory accomplishment in every line of the Society's endeavor. In fact, in more than one respect, the year 1911 was the most fruitful of any known to me in the history of the Society.

1. For proceedings in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary, see pp. 75-126 of this volume.

By-Laws. One proposed amendment to the By-Laws is before the Society for action this evening. The Secretary suggests that the By-Laws be revised throughout, as may be found advisable, the better to adapt them to the present conditions and methods of the institution.

Building. In October the Board voted to place ornamental iron guards on the more exposed windows of the main floor. The contractor now has the work well under way, and its completion can probably be reported early in 1912. Few minor repairs have been called for. There is at certain seasons considerable dampness in the basement walls, which causes flaking and scaling of the plaster. Some slight repairs to the plaster in the basement, with painting or kalsomining, may be advisable in the spring.

Last fall we installed a Morehead steam trap, a device for returning to the boiler and utilizing the exhaust steam. It has worked to the satisfaction of the engineer, and, as he informs me, with a saving in fuel.

Museum. Substantial growth and improvement can be reported for the museum. Several new table cases were built for us, and were no sooner installed than they were filled, in large part by the collections of Mr. William A. Galpin, who leads the list of all benefactors in this department during the year, in the number and variety of his gifts. He has placed here fine collections of old pewter, clocks, candlesticks, old jewelry, medals, an interesting collection of agates, etc., with many additions to his collection of rare early engravings, especially portraits of Lincoln and Washington. He has made our collection of Washington portraits valuable and really notable.

Numerous miscellaneous articles have been received from many friends, among others, a small but fine collection of Indian baskets, from Frederick L. Pratt; also, Indian basket-work, from Miss Grace Manchester; spinning wheel, powder-horns, snuff-boxes, etc., from the estate of H. H. Otis; coins from Andrew Langdon and Carlton R. Perrine; an umbrella of 1842, from Mrs. Peter Stephenson; early theater programs, etc., from George A. Stringer; old jade carvings, miniatures, etc., from the estate of Miss Sarah M. Madison; and numerous other miscellaneous gifts, of all of which a record is kept.

Our honorary president, Mr. Andrew Langdon, has added to his numerous valuable gifts, a bronze wall-tablet, bearing a profile portrait of himself and a brief record of his years of official connection with the Society. The tablet is the work of the Italian artist Ezio Ceccarelli of Florence, and is a striking and valued addition to the works of art in this building.

The Society for some time has contemplated the erection in the central court of this building, of memorial tablets to Millard Fillmore, first president of the society, and Grover Cleveland, who was a member. Designs and bids for this work have been secured and it is hoped that the tablets will be in place and can be unveiled at the semi-centenary of the Society, in May of this year.

Library. Every year puts our library in better condition. Not only are we adding the books most essential in our field of work,

but we are extending the card-index system to cover departments not heretofore catalogued. A year ago the Society's manuscripts, for the first time in the history of the institution, were arranged and filed in a systematic way; they are now well preserved and at the same time easy of access for use by students; and a card index of the collection has been made. Early the coming year I hope to complete a corresponding index of our newspapers. Considerable progress has already been made in this work.

The number of catalogued books in the library, Dec. 31, 1911, was 20,692, a gain of 843 during the year. The Lord library contains 10,262 volumes, and the Marshall collection 1,100, a total of 32,054 in the keeping of this society. Many of the additions came by gift. The purchases were confined to a few lines in which our library is most used, especially various phases of our local history, and genealogy. On some subjects, such as the War of 1812, Western New York Indians, the Patriot War, and lake, canal and railroad history in the local aspect, our collections are now so full and valuable that it is especially desirable to add to them anything now lacking, with a view to making our collections on these subjects as complete as possible. On a few topics of great importance in our regional history, your secretary feels that we should buy more rather than less, with the definite purpose of making this library, as a collection of literature relating to our local history, in all departments what it is now in some—the best in existence.

In the purchase of manuscripts, too, something should be done, as opportunity offers, each year. Material of this sort, if hitherto unpublished and of real historical worth, is of the greatest value in the preparation of our volumes of Publications. Two or three instances of this sort are afforded by the forthcoming volume, in which is printed for the first time a long letter written at Niagara Falls in 1834 by the eminent English author, Harriet Martineau; and a journal recording a visit to Niagara Falls in 1802 by John Vanderlyn, believed to be the first American artist of note who painted the Falls. This manuscript the Society does not own, but was granted the privilege of publication through the courtesy of the owner, the Rev. R. R. Hoes, chaplain in the United States Navy, at Norfolk, Va. The Martineau manuscript, your secretary bought, not long since, at the sale of a private collection, and in his judgment its interest amply justified the modest expenditure. From time to time opportunities arise by which our store of this useful sort of source-material may be much enriched, if the Board of Managers deem it wise to make such purchases.

The library has benefited, during the past year, by gifts of books from numerous friends, among them Mr. H. N. Casson, Hon. Henry W. Hill, Chas. J. North, George Clinton, H. A. Meldrum, Wm. H. Otis, estate of Dr. W. W. Potter, Mrs. Julius Pohlman, Dr. Roswell Park, Maurice Courtney, estate of Sarah M. Madison, Miss Grace Manchester, estate of Wm. P. Letchworth, Miss Gertrude Kirby, Miss Mary Hawley, D. M. Silver, Carlton R. Perrine and—most notable of all benefactors of the library during the year, the Hon. T. Guilford Smith, who has given us many books, some of them costly, and all valuable.

Of peculiar interest was the transfer to our keeping of several volumes of early records of the old county of Niagara, embracing

present Erie county, and of the town of Buffalo, 1814-32. For these we are in large measure indebted to Mr. William G. Justice, Comptroller of the city, an ex-officio member of our Board, and a citizen who has repeatedly given substantial help to our institution.

Membership. The total membership of the society is 704, of which one—Mr. Langdon—is a patron, 3 are honorary members, 113 corresponding, 121 life, and 466 annual members. The honorary and corresponding lists decrease yearly by death, and no effort is made to increase them, since they add little or nothing to the income, strength or resources of the society. Our life list, too, has grown smaller through deaths. We should have more life members and more annual members. Thirty-one new members have been added in the past year. It would seem that in a community the size of Buffalo there should be more people, desirable as members, who would seek membership in an institution of this character. Our need of more members is apparent when we reflect that all that we do for the members, including the entertainments and the costly publication work, has to be paid for from the general fund, chiefly augmented by the annual dues of the members. Not one cent of the maintenance money appropriated to the society by the city, is applicable to this work, which is our most important function.

THE DEATH ROLL OF 1911.

The death roll for the year from our membership is an unusually long one, and contains the names of men and women of eminence in their several spheres in this community. It is as follows:

Jan.	3.	JOHN VAN VELSOR	Resident	Member
"	13.	GEORGE A. PLIMPTON	"	"
"	14.	GEN. GEORGE B. DANDY, N. Y. City	Honorary	"
"	27.	HORACE A. NOBLE	Resident	"
Mar.	4.	REV. R. V. HUNTER	"	"
"	16.	MRS JULIA F. SNOW	Life	"
Apr.	16.	CHARLES W. GOODYEAR	Resident	"
"	21.	HENRY M. WATSON	"	"
"	30.	C. C. FREDERICK, M.D.	"	"
May	20.	MISS ADA M. KENYON	"	"
Jun.	4.	LARS G. SELSTEDT	Life	"
"	11.	GEORGE E. MATTHEWS	Resident	"
Jul.	1.	JOHN BLOCHER	Life	"
"	31.	CLARENCE F. POWELL	Resident	"
Aug.	10.	DR. A. A. HUBBELL	"	"
Oct.	10.	OSCAR COBB	"	"
Nov.	10.	MARTIN I. J. GRIFFIN, Philadelphia, Pa.	Corresponding	"
"	—.	HON. FERNANDO JONES, Chicago, Ill.	"	"
"	24.	AUGUSTUS PORTER THOMPSON .	Resident	"
"	28.	HENRY VOM BERGE	"	"
Dec.	17.	HOMER E. DUDLEY	"	"

Incidents of the year which may properly have mention in this report are the Society's participation, through its secretary as delegate, in the annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association, at Kingston, N. Y., Sept. 12th to 14th; and in the annual meetings of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, which were held in Buffalo, Dec. 27th to 29th. These organizations came to Buffalo as our guests, the initial invitation having been extended by the Board of Managers, some two years ago. Some 350 delegates, from different parts of the United States and Canada, attended. Although they were primarily the guests of this institution, other organizations—the Academy of Fine Arts, the Society of Natural Sciences, the Women Teachers' Association, and the Twentieth Century, Buffalo, Saturn and University clubs of this city, shared most cordially in extending courtesies to the visitors, and deserve much of the credit for making the occasion the success which we are assured it was.

Publications. Volume XV of our series of Publications is completed and now in the hands of the binder. Recent volumes have had a considerable sale to libraries and institutions in other cities with which we have no exchange, and no doubt the new volume will find a like sale. The proceeds from such sale materially lessen to us the net cost of publication.

Entertainments. The course of entertainments for the current season was planned with a view to excellence, appropriateness, and variety. The secretary has also offered sundry illustrated lectures, dealing with phases of his recent travels in the Far East. We have had good-sized audiences and the members seem to appreciate what the Society does for them in this line. We have always to consider the matter of expense, and have had to forego the pleasure of offering some strong attractions, and speakers of great repute, merely because their charges were higher than we felt able to pay.

On one occasion near at hand, that is, Lincoln's birthday, we propose to extend an invitation to the public generally, to attend notable exercises in this building, that course being deemed in accord with the original purpose of the Lincoln Birthday Association, now merged in this Society, and with the spirit of its honored founder, Mr. Julius E. Francis.

The year 1912 ushers in a period of many centennary anniversaries. It may be found well to recognize this anniversary time, in the character and contents of the next volume of our Publications. The Society is already called upon to participate in an organization for a proposed peace celebration at the close of 1914. The time suggests many undertakings worthy the attention of this Society.

ENTERTAINMENTS IN 1911.

During 1911 the Society continued its evening entertainments for members. The growth of interest in these lectures induces the Society to increase their number the coming year. Besides numerous school gatherings and informal historical talks to classes, the entertainments of the year were as follows:

1911.

- Jan. 24. Illustrated lecture: "Shakespeare at Home," by H. Snowden Ward, F. R. P. S.
- Feb. 14. Illustrated lecture: "Oberammergau and the Passion Play of 1910," by Mr. Henry R. Howland.
- Mar. 14. Historical address: "John Randolph of Roanoke," by William G. Justice.
- Oct. 16. Illustrated travel talk: "An Amateur Archaeologist in Java," by Frank H. Severance.
- Nov. 1. Illustrated lecture: "Poland under Sobieski," by Miss Elizabeth Angela Henry.
- Nov. 16. Illustrated travel talk: "The Road to Mandalay," by Frank H. Severance.
- Dec. 6. Illustrated lecture: "The Panama Canal and its Makers," by Mr. Frederick I. Monsen.
- Dec. 27-29. Meetings of the American Historical Association, the American Political Science Association, and allied societies.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD.

At the annual meeting of the Board of Managers, Jan. 11, 1912, the officers of 1911 were reelected, the voting being by ballot, as follows: President, Henry W. Hill; vice-president, Charles R. Wilson; secretary-treasurer, Frank H. Severance.

FIFTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING

The fifty-first annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building Tuesday evening, January 14, 1913. President Henry W. Hill was in the chair and after the annual reports of the secretary and treasurer were made, Messrs. G. Hunter Bartlett, M. D., G. Barrett Rich, Sr., Henry A. Richmond, Henry W. Sprague and William Y. Warren were elected to the Board of Managers for a term of four years. At a subsequent meeting of the Board, Jan. 16th, Mr. Hill was reelected president, Mr. Charles R. Wilson vice-president, and Mr. Frank H. Severance secretary and treasurer.

President Hill delivered his annual address, following which Mr. Charles Elbert Rhodes entertained the audience with an illustrated lecture entitled "Rambles in the Wordsworth Country."

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Gentlemen of the Board of Managers, Ladies and Gentlemen:

We most cordially welcome you to this fifty-first annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society and deeply appreciate your continued interest in the welfare of the institution. From its organization it has commanded the warm support of the people of this city, possessing an historical sense and imbued with a true historical spirit; and as its sphere of usefulness has been extended, it has steadily grown in popular favor. Its relation to the city is unique. It is largely supported by taxation and its doors are open to the public at all reasonable hours. It has become one of the useful educational institutions of Buffalo, whither its school children, its students and all classes of its citizens may come with the assurance that they will be welcome and amply repaid for time spent in examining its collections, or listening to the talks and lectures given here from time to time.

In the ceremonies of the fiftieth anniversary of its organization, when published, will appear an account of its growth from club meetings of some of Buffalo's most eminent citizens, to its final location in this beautiful and commodious permanent home.

It is serving well-recognized public demands in accordance with the purposes of its founders, who were men of large vision and patriotic spirit. In its collections and archives may be found much material for writing the history of Buffalo, and of its successive

generations; as well as much of the history of the aboriginal occupation and settlement of Western New York.

These materials are being augmented from year to year, classified and catalogued for ready reference. They are almost daily consulted by school children and students interested in the history of the people of this territory and in the important events that make the Niagara Frontier the resort of students of and writers on historical subjects of this and other countries. Its local importance cannot be overstated.

Modern historical research work involves discriminating study of the evolution of events, tracing out as far as possible the causes that operated to produce them and to shape their courses, assigning to each its part in the drama of history. The *ipse dixit* of the old school of historical writers is no longer accepted as a finality in the discussion of the sequence of events. Data must be reexamined in the light of what has been established, to the end that erroneous deductions be avoided and that the conclusions reached in the exposition of history be supported by the facts.

This society is yearly adding to its collections and archives library material of value in the elucidation of the life, settlement and events of Western New York, and the Board of Managers earnestly request further donations of any books, papers, maps, photographs, genealogies and other material that ought to be preserved and that will add to and increase in usefulness its already rich collections.

The reports of the secretary and treasurer contain much that will be of interest at this annual meeting in addition to the formal matters required to be reported upon by law.

The past year has been a busy one in the affairs of this society. The principal event during the year was the celebration exercises to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of its organization. These were participated in by the Society of Natural Sciences of this city and the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, as well as by representatives of other organizations. On that occasion were unveiled in the main hall of this building a bronze tablet to Millard Fillmore, the thirteenth President of the United States and the first President of this society; and also a bronze tablet to Grover Cleveland, the twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States and a member of this society. The address on the life and services of Millard Fillmore was delivered by Frank M. Hollister of the Board of Managers and that on Grover Cleveland by John G. Milburn of New York City. Both of these scholarly addresses will appear in the seventeenth volume of the Publications of this society. There will also appear the historical address of your president, delivered on that occasion, reviewing the work of this society and its history for the first half century of its existence.

Many members of the Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses visited Buffalo on June 8th and 9th, 1912, and were received and entertained by this society, the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, the Country Club, the Buffalo Club, the Buffalo Chamber of Commerce and such representative citizens as Col. James G. Warren, Corps of Engineers, U. S., honorable chairman of the Buffalo entertainment committee; Mr. Orson E. Yeager, president Buffalo Chamber of Commerce, chairman of the Buffalo entertainment committee; Senator Henry W. Hill, vice-chairman

and acting-chairman of the Buffalo entertainment committee, president of the New York State Waterways Association and president of the Buffalo Historical Society; Mr. Frank W. Tracy, secretary of the Buffalo entertainment committee; Mr. Henry B. Saunders, assistant secretary of the Buffalo entertainment committee; Mr. Howard A. Forman, treasurer of the Buffalo entertainment committee; Hon. George Clinton, chairman executive committee; Mr. William B. Hoyt, chairman entertainment committee; Mr. Roland Crangle, chairman harbor committee; Mr. Joseph R. Baldwin, chairman transportation committee; Hon. Louis P. Fuhrmann, Mayor of Buffalo; Col. D. S. Alexander, member National Waterways Commission; Mr. James C. Evans, president Country Club; Mr. John W. Robinson, president Buffalo Club; Mr. Edward S. Hawley, chairman house committee, Buffalo Club; Mr. Charles M. Heald, president Ellicott Club; Col. Francis G. Ward, commissioner of public works; Mr. William E. Robertson, former president Chamber of Commerce; Messrs. William A. Rogers, Adelbert Moot, Gen. Francis V. Greene, Arthur D. Bissell, John A. Murphy, Harry Parry, Walter F. Semon, William H. Gratwick, Thomas C. Diehl, Ansley Wilcox, Thomas Cary, Delancey Rankine, A. C. Elston, Frank L. Bapst, Hon. Daniel J. Kenefick, Charles H. McCullough, Henry S. Fisher, Gen. George S. Field, Edmund Hayes, J. J. H. Brown, and others.

The visitors had journeyed from Albany to Buffalo and inspected the barge canal in process of construction; and during their stay in Buffalo, they were shown the inner and outer harbors of Buffalo and the facilities for handling with dispatch large cargoes of iron ore, coal, grain, lumber, etc. They were also shown the Lackawanna Steel Plant, the harbor and shiplock at Black Rock, and the residential streets, parks and some of the large public buildings of the city. In their official report they say that they were welcomed by the Buffalo committee "in a brilliant manner." They say they were taken in automobiles through the most interesting residential section of the city, received at the Country Club, where they were served with a buffet luncheon and witnessed a polo game played for their benefit; were entertained by the officers of the Buffalo Club, visited the Albright Art Gallery and the Buffalo Historical Society, where informal receptions were held. They were accompanied on their trip to Niagara Falls by Henry W. Hill, acting chairman; John W. Robinson, Henry D. Saunders, and others.

The members of this Congress include such distinguished authorities on engineering, waterway, harbor and commercial matters as Professor de Timonoff of St. Petersburg, acting president of the International Congress and director of lines of communication of Russia; M. Kauffman, chief engineer of bridges and roads of Nantes; Eugene de Kvassey, ministerial councillor and chief of the Hungarian State water survey; Carlo Valentini, chief engineer of public works of Bologna; Wilhelm Germelmann, *Geheimer Oberbaurat* of Berlin; Paul Claudot, engineer of bridges and roads of Brussels; Jules Bougougnon, chief engineer of bridges and roads of Marseilles; Edmond Sanjust di Teulada, supervisor of public works and member of the Italian parliament, Rome; Col. Frederik Wilhelm Hansen, president of the royal board of waterfalls of Stockholm; R. Blemcke, director of shipping, Mannheim; Ramon

Hernandez, engineer of roads, canals and bridges, Oviedo, Spain; Paul Vidal, chief engineer of bridges and roads, Bordeaux; Andre Chargueraud, councillor of state, director of routes and of navigation under the minister of public works, Paris; Dr. M. C. de Souza Bandeira, civil engineer and engineer of Rio de Janeiro; Dr. Hermann Matheusche, director of the port of Trieste; M. C. M. Hummel, chief engineer of marine works, Copenhagen; M. Ph. van der Sleyden, former minister of waterways, commerce and industries, Netherlands; I. Kristensen, director of marine works, Christiania; J. Fossataro, engineer of public works, Venice; A. de Kanter and H. C. Wesseling, engineers of the public works, Rotterdam; H. Monch, *Geheimer Oberbaurat* of Berlin; C. Bech, engineer of the Royal Danish waterworks, department and chief continued interest in the welfare of the society. From its organization neer of the harbor trust of Helsingör; N. C. Monberg, chief engineer, and H. C. V. Möller, chief engineer to the harbor trust of Copenhagen; I. Inglese and Louis Luiggi, inspectors general of corps of engineers of Genoa and Rome; M. V. de Blocq van Kuffeler, engineer of water works, Hoorn; F. Zanen and Leon Descanss, engineers of public works, Antwerp; Chief Engineer Babin of Rouen; M. Braun, contractor of marine buoys and signals; Lieutenant-General J. de Schokalsky of the Russian Navy of St. Petersburg; E. J. Marote, chief engineer and director of bridges and roads of Brussels; Lieut. Ernst Julius Nilsson, engineer of bridges and tunnels under navigable waters, Sweden; Johann F. Bubendey, *Geheimer Baurat*, Hamburg; and Jean Florimond Vanderlinden, inspector-general of bridges and roads, Belgium.

Most of these distinguished members of the association and many others were in Buffalo, constituting one of the most distinguished delegations that ever visited this city. They were impressed with the magnitude and possibilities of the port of Buffalo, when properly developed and equipped for the economical and rapid transfer of freight from rail to water-carriers and from lake carriers to barges to operate the enlarged barge canals of the state.

The commerce at the port of Buffalo for the year 1912 was as follows:

LAKE RECEIPTS—GRAIN.

Flour	barrels	7,584,753
Wheat	bushels	108,225,504
Corn	"	12,750,250
Oats	"	10,580,150
Barley	"	12,176,925
Rye	"	1,250,215
Total		144,983,044
Flour to Wheat		37,923,765
Flaxseed		14,810,325
Grand Total		197,717,134

MISCELLANEOUS LAKE RECEIPTS.

Iron Ore	tons	4,993,973
Laths	pieces	6,081,000
Shingles	"	614,295,000
Lumber	feet	128,674,000

TONNAGE OF BUFFALO—1912.

<i>Vessels entered.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
Coastwise	2,998	7,628,586
American vessels in foreign trade	724	372,461
Foreign vessels in foreign trade	77	25,920
Totals	3,799	8,526,967
<i>Vessels cleared.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Tons.</i>
Coastwise	3,123	7,905,221
American vessels in foreign trade	628	522,331
Foreign vessels in foreign trade	75	21,683
Totals	3,826	8,449,235

During the year the society has sustained the loss by death of numerous members, several of whom were at times members of its Board of Managers and rendered important services in the conduct of its affairs. The list is as follows:

MEMBERSHIP DEATHS, 1912.

Feb.	7.	HON. TRUMAN C. WHITE	Resident member	
"	9.	HON. JAMES N. ADAM	"	"
"	13.	HENRY C. REW	Life	"
		(at San Remo, Italy)		
"	17.	JOHN E. RANSOM	Resident	"
"	20.	HON. T. GUILFORD SMITH	"	"
Mar.	12.	GEORGE H. DUNSTON	Life	"
"	21.	MRS. WRILSON S. TIFFT	Resident	"
May	14.	REV. ISRAEL AARON	"	"
"	16.	GEORGE E. BURROWS	Life	"
Jun.	8.	JAMES SWEENEY	"	"
"	11.	JOHN J. McWILLIAMS	"	"
"	24.	CHARLES H. AVERY	Resident	"
Sep.	5.	CHRISTOPHER G. FOX	"	"
Oct.	24.	WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN	Life	"
Nov.	11.	DUMONTE A. WHITING	Resident	"
Dec.	31.	MRS MARY W. STICKNEY	"	"

Mr. Newman was President in 1879 and 1885. Messrs. J. N. Adam, James Sweeney and John J. McWilliams were, for several years, members of the Board of Managers.

Of various phases of the society's work, the Secretary's report will have informed you. It only remains for me to express my personal appreciation of your confidence, and to bespeak your continued interest and support for this institution.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1912.

PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING, JAN. 14, 1913.

Mr. President, Members of the Buffalo Historical Society:

It continues to be my duty to report that our condition is prosperous. Certainly public interest in our institution has never been greater. Our effort is to increase its usefulness.

Building. During the year we have placed iron guards over the more exposed windows on the main floor. In the basement, by the removal of a partition, the room originally planned for a kitchen has been added to our museum space. Some cement and plaster work has been done, and necessary painting. We have suffered less from dampness in the basement than heretofore.

Publications. In March, volume XV of our Publications was completed and distributed. It shows an improvement in binding, a dark blue ribbed cloth being substituted for the gray paper wrappers. The volume consists of a collection of essays and historical papers by the secretary, is entitled "Studies of the Niagara Frontier," and has been well received.

Library. The number of catalogued books in the society's library, Dec. 31, 1912, was 21,534, a gain of 842 volumes. It becomes more and more necessary to limit our collections to our special field of American history, for our shelves are crowded. The Lord and Marshall collections, not owned by the society but entrusted to its keeping, remain unchanged.

Fiftieth anniversary. The fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the society was appropriately celebrated on May 20th, when bronze tablets to the memory of Buffalo's two Presidents, Millard Fillmore and Grover Cleveland, were unveiled with exercises of uncommon interest and literary worth. As President Hill has touched on this subject in his address, it needs only to add that a full report of the proceedings, with the addresses then delivered, will appear in a forthcoming volume of our Publications.

Relations with other organizations. In January a committee from the Board of Managers, consisting of Messrs. Langdon, Hollister, Briggs, Rich and Smith, with President Hill *ex-officio*, was appointed to represent this society, and coöperate with the Society of Natural Sciences, to promote the project of that organization for securing a building of its own. This aim is not yet realized, but the Historical Society continues ready and zealous to help on the undertaking, in any way that may become apparent.

With the Society of Natural Sciences, the Fine Arts Academy, and the Public and Grosvenor libraries, the Historical Society has entered into coöperation. Under the name of the Buffalo Educational Union, these organizations, through their representatives in the Union as a central body, have undertaken to make their fields of work and free facilities for popular education, better known to the public. Circulars and booklets have been issued, describing the

resources and equipment of each institution. Especially in the schools has an effort been made to impress upon the pupils that much educational help, especially in matters pertaining to science, art and history, is offered free by these institutions; while the libraries are equipped and ready to assist the seeker in almost any line of useful study. To quicken popular interest in these institutions, illustrated lectures have been prepared, picturing and describing in turn the attractions of the several institutions and the special ways in which they can help the student. The future of the Buffalo Educational Union has large possibilities.

As for several years past, this society continues to contribute to the fund of the Niagara Frontier Landmarks Association, and otherwise to promote its work.

Through our president, we were represented at the Champlain ceremonies,¹ at Crown Point in July; at the dedication of the State Education Building at Albany, Oct. 15-17; and at the dedication of the Saratoga battle monument at Schuylerville, Oct. 18th.

The secretary has responded to such calls for addresses as he has been able to. His illustrated travel talks have been popular with schools and local clubs. In response to invitation, on Jan. 17th, he addressed the Cayuga County Historical Association, at Auburn, on "Historical Work in New York State." On October 13th, a somewhat similar address was given before the Rochester Historical Society, on the occasion of the dedication of its new building. On June 5th to 7th, he attended the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society, at Napanee, Ont., and read a paper entitled "Collections of Historical Material relating to the War of 1812."

Museum. New cases have been installed and many articles of historic interest received—so many, that their complete enumeration is impossible at this time. A few of particular interest may be mentioned.

A Civil War souvenir of value is the silver watch owned and carried for many years by Gen. George Gordon Meade. He carried it through the Mexican War and the Civil War—it may almost be called the watch by which the battle of Gettysburg was fought. Gen. Meade gave it to his life-long friend, Capt. E. P. Dorr of this city, from whose grandson, Mr. Eben P. Dorr, now of Grand Rapids, Mich., it comes to us. Of local interest are Joseph Ellicott's spectacles, gift of Mrs. John Mann, Richmond, Va.; a drawing of the old car ferry, foot of Porter avenue, 1852-1872, gift of Mr. Alfred

1. Although it was not known to his associates at the time, Mr. Hill's long-continued and effective service in connection with the Champlain Ter-centenary observance, and in bringing about the erection of worthy permanent memorials to Champlain, received distinguished recognition in France. He was made a Chevalier of the National Order of the Legion of Honor, as attested by an official engraved certificate, which sets forth, under the heading "*Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur*," that:

"Le Grand Chancelier de la Légion d'Honneur certifié que, par décret de quatorze Février, mil neuf cent treize, le Président de la République Française a conféré à L'Honorable Henry W. Hill, ancien membre du Sénat de l'Etat de New York, secrétaire de la Commission Champlain, la décoration de Chevalier de l'Ordre National de la Légion d'Honneur."

Signed, sealed and registered at Paris, Feb. 27, 1913.

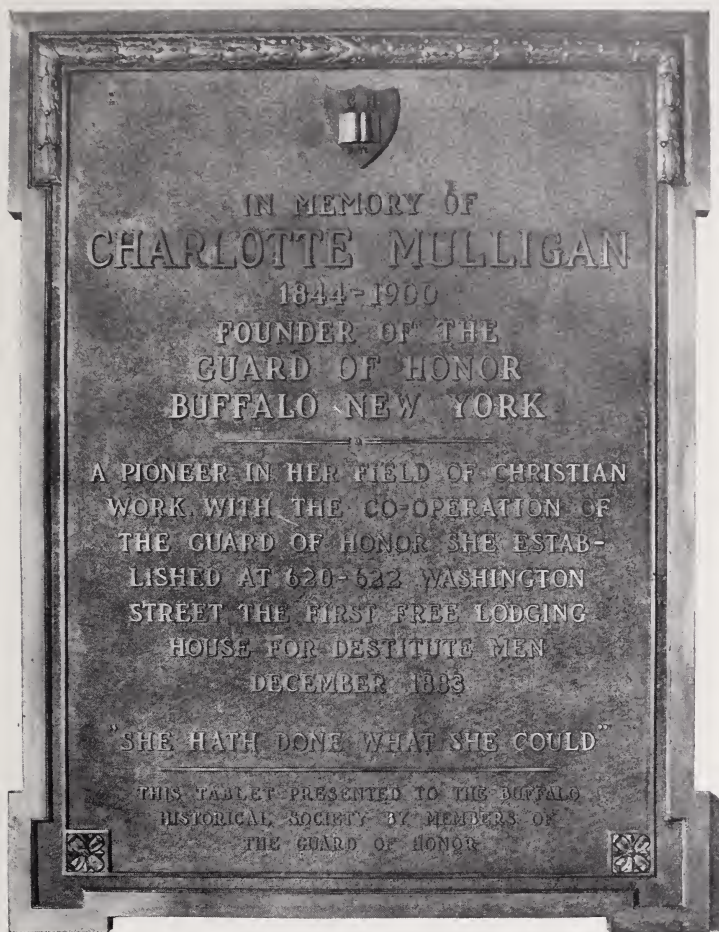
Ellerby; a velocipede, said to be the first made in Buffalo, gift of the White Sewing Machine Co.; the duelling pistols formerly owned by Rear-Admiral Foote, gift of Dr. Herman G. Matzinger; a collection of oriental articles, from Mrs. Walter T. Wilson; a lady's riding-habit of camlet cloth, with velvet cap, worn in Buffalo in the '40's, gift of Mrs. E. S. Warren; and a large collection of miscellaneous articles, including many Civil War relics, from Dr. John Ketchum.

The additions to our collection of portraits of former citizens of Buffalo have been numerous, but further enumeration cannot here be undertaken. Complete lists of all accessions are kept by the society.

Tablet to Charlotte Mulligan. An especially pleasant incident of the year was the unveiling of a tablet in memory of Charlotte Mulligan, a gift to the Historical Society from the Guard of Honor Society which she founded. The tablet, set in the north wall of the lecture hall, was unveiled on Sunday afternoon, Dec. 1st. The hall was inadequate to accommodate all who came. The exercises included music by the orchestra of Plymouth M. E. Church; prayer by Rev. A. V. V. Raymond, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church. The Hon. Louis P. Fuhrmann, Mayor of Buffalo, made a brief address, followed by the presentation of the tablet by Mr. William Paget, president of the Guard of Honor. Mr. Thomas Grimshaw removed the silk flag that had covered the tablet, and President Hill made a brief address of acceptance in behalf of the Historical Society. Remarks were made by several gentlemen; Mrs. A. G. Hauenstein read an original poem written for the occasion, and the exercises concluded with singing by the audience, followed by the Doxology and Benediction.

Entertainments. The Society's meetings and entertainments during 1912 were as follows:

- Jan. 9. Annual meeting; election and reports.
- 22. "Dramatic Scenes from the U. S. Senate," by Mrs. Emily Montague Bishop.
- Feb. 12. Historical lecture, "Lincoln," with exhibition of relics, by Gen. James Grant Wilson.
- 27. Lecture (in costume), "India's Millions," by Mohamad Ali.
- Mar. 21. Illustrated lecture, "The Story of a great Scottish City (Glasgow)," by Mrs. Julius Pohlman. Scotch songs by Mrs. B. F. Dennis and Mr. David B. Beveridge.
- Apr. 18. In memory of Hon. William Pryor Letchworth; paper by Mr. J. N. Larned.
- 30. In memory of Lars G. Sellstedt; paper by Mr. Henry Ware Sprague.
- May 20. Fiftieth anniversary, Buffalo Historical Society. (See report elsewhere in this volume.)
- Jun. 9. Reception to the Permanent International Association of Navigation Congresses.
- Oct. 15. Illustrated lecture, "The Antiquities of Mexico and Yucatan," by Warren K. Moorehead, Curator, Dept. of Archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.



CHARLOTTE MULLIGAN MEMORIAL TABLET.

GIFT OF THE GUARD OF HONOR TO THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. UNVEILED
DECEMBER 1, 1912.

- Oct. 29. Illustrated lecture, "The Renaissance Chateaux of France,"
by Miss Mary V. Worstell, New York City.
- Nov. 12. Illustrated lecture, "Tripoli and the Turco-Italian War,"
by Charles Wellington Furlong, Boston.
- 26. Illustrated lecture, "Porto Rico, the Isle of Opportunity,"
by Rev. Frederick H. Coman, Buffalo.
- Dec. 1. Exercises incident to unveiling the Charlotte Mulligan
memorial tablet.
- 10. Dickens recital, including "A Christmas Carol" and the
Trial Scene from "Pickwick," by Mr. E. S. Williamson,
Toronto.



JAMES SWEENEY.

MEMORIALS

ACTION OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS ON THE
DEATH OF FORMER MEMBERS OF THAT BODY.

JAMES SWEENEY.

To the ever-lengthening roll of the departed was added on June 8, 1912, the name of our long-time friend and associate, James Sweeney.

Mr. Sweeney became a member of the Historical Society, Jan. 12, 1864. No member now living joined the Society at so early a date. He had been a life member since March 12, 1875, and a member of the Board of Managers from 1892 until his death.

Few men associated with the institution have been more devoted to its welfare. He took a deep interest in the early history of our region and had carefully studied the story of the Indians of Western New York. At one time he cherished a project of publishing the result of his researches regarding the Senecas.

As a member of the governing board of the Historical Society, he was, until health failed him, exceptionally faithful in attendance at meetings. He took a great pride in the Historical Building and in the enlargement of the scope of work carried on by this institution. His courtesy and kindness endeared him to all, and his memory will ever be cherished as that of a true and helpful friend.

Resolved, That we, the Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society, enter upon the records of this society this memorandum of our esteem and affection for Mr. Sweeney; and that a copy be sent to his family, with an expression of the deep sympathy of this Board.

JOHN J. McWILLIAMS.

The Buffalo Historical Society has experienced a great loss by the death of Mr. John J. McWilliams, June 11, 1912. He became a member of this society, April 4, 1884; a life member, March 21, 1887, and had served continuously on the Board of Managers since January, 1902.

It was no slight service that he gave to the institution. As chairman of the building committee, and in various other capacities, he was repeatedly called on for services which taxed both time and energy; but he never failed to give to whatever matter was entrusted to him, a prompt, ungrudging, thorough and judicious attention. He bore for years an active part in the upbuilding of the society, and its usefulness today in this community is in no small degree the fruit of his efforts.

With exceptional fidelity in the performance of every duty, Mr. McWilliams combined a heartiness and cheeriness of manner which won the heart. His presence enlivened the meetings of our Board, as his suggestions and advice assisted it. His counsel was well-advised; his association and his friendship were relations to cherish and to hold forever in pleasant memory. So sudden has been his passing from us, that his absence will be keenly felt and deeply mourned, whenever we come together; but gladly will he be remembered as one who made life brighter and better for others, and who in his own life solved well and wisely the problems of living and of serving.

Resolved, That this minute of our esteem and affection be entered on the records of this society, and that a copy of it be transmitted to the family, with the assurance of our profound sympathy.

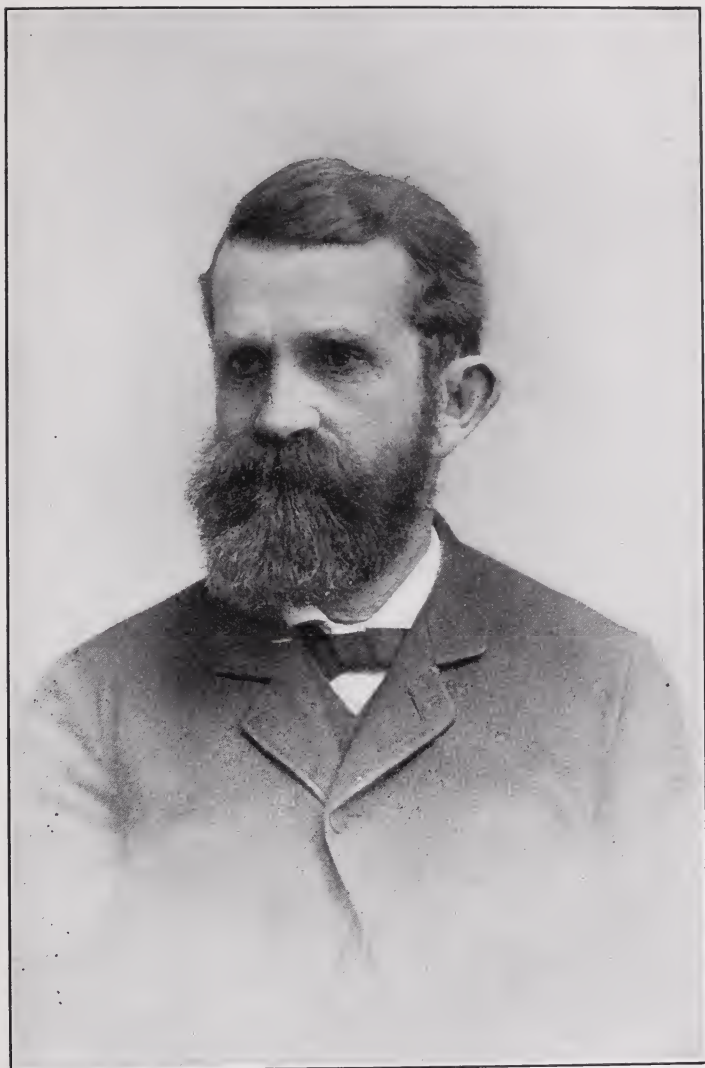
WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN.

The members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society have learned with sorrow of the death, on Oct. 24, 1912, of their former associate and long-time friend, William H. H. Newman.

A resident of Buffalo since 1833, Mr. Newman had witnessed and shared in the evolution of the city, almost from its municipal origin. His interest in the history of Buffalo, and the preservation of the relics and records of his home city, led him to associate himself with the Historical Society soon after its organization. He became a life member in 1872, and was elected President of the society in 1879 and 1885.



JOHN J. McWILLIAMS.



WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN.



HENRY A. RICHMOND.

Under his first administration was begun the series of historical publications which has now reached its sixteenth volume. It was also in 1879 that the society took the first steps towards acquiring a lot in Forest Lawn for the reburial of Red Jacket and other distinguished members of the Seneca Nation.

In 1885, Mr. Newman was reëlected, being the first president chosen for a second term since Mr. Fillmore. This was an important year in the history of the society, as it brought the beginning of preparations for removal to the Public Library building, and the opening to the world of the State Reservation at Niagara Falls. For this event, Mr. Newman headed a committee of twenty, named to represent the Buffalo Historical Society.

Throughout the years of his active participation in the affairs of the society, Mr. Newman strove to advance its welfare, and it is today in many ways indebted to him. His portrait hangs in our Board room in the midst of a group of his associates and former managers of this institution, and his memory will ever be cherished by us.

Resolved, That this expression of our esteem and appreciation be entered in the records of the society, and that a copy thereof be transmitted to Mr. Newman's family.

HENRY A. RICHMOND.

In the death of Henry A. Richmond, on May 10, 1913, the Buffalo Historical Society has lost one of its most useful and valued members.

Mr. Richmond joined the society May 6, 1890, and became a life member May 6, 1909. He was a member of the Board of Managers from 1895 until his death. For eighteen years, save in the intervals of his sojourns abroad, he shared in the administration of this institution, at all times giving to it the benefit of his counsel and the inspiration of his high ideals. Especially was he interested in the society's work in historical research and publication, and in its efforts to make its facilities useful to the schools and students of Buffalo. He believed in the worth of what the society seeks to accomplish; and in manifold ways, during many years, he helped forward its work.

The personal esteem in which Mr. Richmond was held by this entire community, deepened into sincerest respect, and kindled to warmest affection, in those who came to know him with intimacy. We recall his unfailing courtesy, his high-minded and hopeful out-

look upon life, his considerate and kindly helpfulness, his sturdy allegiance to his own high standards of manhood and of citizenship.

Resolved, That this minute be entered on our records, and transmitted to relatives of Mr. Richmond

J. N. LARNED.

In the death of Josephus Nelson Larned, Aug. 15, 1913, the Buffalo Historical Society has lost a true and strong friend.

Few citizens of Buffalo remain whose connection with this society has been as long as his; there is none who can fill his place.

Mr. Larned's membership in the Historical Society began Dec. 11, 1866. He became a life member March 3, 1896; and a member of the Board of Councillors, now the Board of Managers, Jan. 8, 1895, serving continuously until his death.

His notable service to the society during these years, was in the realm of his own studies and special work. Foremost among the scholars and writers of Buffalo, he prepared various papers and addresses of enduring worth for our society meetings. At sundry times, as a member of the committee on publications, his suggestions and advice in this field of the society's activities, were in a high degree helpful. Occupied for many years with the superintendence of Buffalo's Public Library, he found time to consider the needs and to help on the specialized development of the library of the Historical Society. In all matters pertaining to the progress and welfare of this institution he was a sound and helpful councillor.

Mr. Larned lived on a high plane, mentally and morally, and association with him was an intellectual uplift. No citizen of Buffalo ever recognized more fully the sacredness of citizenship, or was more conscientious in the discharge of its obligations. His life was essentially given to the teaching and advancement of Right and Justice.

Resolved, That the members of the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society hereby join in extending to the family this expression of their sincere appreciation, and deep sympathy.

NOTE. A Memoir of the late J. N. Larned will appear in a succeeding volume of these Publications.



JOSEPHUS NELSON LARNED.

THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS

In 1879, after an existence of seventeen years, the Buffalo Historical Society issued its first volume of Publications. Its available material consisted of historical papers which had been read at Society meetings, and of letters and other documents gathered in its archives. A publication committee, consisting of Orsamus H. Marshall, E. S. Hawley and the Rev. A. T. Chester, D.D., in conjunction with Messrs. Bigelow Brothers, publishers, issued a prospectus inviting subscriptions, and were encouraged by the response to undertake the work, which was issued in parts, at twenty-five cents a number. Completed, Volume I gave such satisfaction that in 1880 Volume II was issued in like manner. Both volumes were edited by the Rev. Albert Bigelow, Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The work in all respects was admirably done. The two volumes, containing upwards of eight hundred pages, soon became scarce, have long been out of print and now command a high price whenever by chance copies are offered for sale. They are not esteemed too highly, for they contain records of early Buffalo, Erie Canal papers, memoirs of pioneers and reminiscences of various early phases of life on the Niagara frontier, of real importance to the student but nowhere else preserved.

Nothing more was attempted by way of publication until 1885, when the reburial by the Society of the remains of Red Jacket and other prominent men of the Seneca Nation seemed to call for some printed record beside newspaper reports. Volume III was accordingly prepared, chiefly, it is understood, by Mr. George G. Barnum, then librarian for the Society. It was designated as "Transactions, volume three," but as the preceding volumes were marked "Publications," and as no separate series of "Transactions" has been undertaken, this book is regarded as volume three of the Publications series.

In 1896, at the request of the Society, the present editor (not then actively connected with the institution), prepared Volume IV. It was not, however, until 1902 that the regular issuance of volumes was undertaken. Since that date thirteen volumes have been published, the present volume being number seventeen of the series.

Volumes I and II—long out of print—deal chiefly with the early history of Buffalo and the Great Lakes, early transportation and the War of 1812. Volume III relates wholly to the Seneca Indians, especially Red Jacket. Volumes IV to IX contain scores of papers on various phases of Western New York history. Volumes X and XI contain a Life of Millard Fillmore, with his speeches and correspondence. Volume XII is a "History of Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State," by Henry Wayland Hill, LL.D., president of the Historical Society. Volumes XIII and XIV relate to canal enlargement, the Holland Land Company, journals of early travel, etc. Volume XV, "Studies of the Niagara Frontier," by Frank H. Severance, secretary of the Society, presents the literary, artistic and scientific aspect of the Niagara Falls region. Volume XVI, "The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo," by the same author, contains over 400 engravings, with descriptive text.

Following is a more detailed account of the several volumes and a list of the principal contents of each:

VOL. I. 1879.

8vo. pp. 436. Illustrations and maps. But very few copies procurable for sale.
For many years a scarce and much sought for volume.
Price on application.

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS, 1862	Millard Fillmore
ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF BUFFALO	William Ketchum
CORRESPONDENCE ON THE NAME OF BUFFALO	Rev. Asher Wright, N. T. Strong
THE LAST OF THE KAH-KWAHS (Poem)	David Gray
BUFFALO CEMETERIES	William Hodg
ODE, AT FOREST LAWN DEDICATION	Rev. John C. Lord, D. D.
THE BRAVES' REST	William C. Bryant
THE OLD BLACK ROCK FERRY	Charles D. Norton
ADDENDA RELATING TO THE NAME OF BLACK ROCK	Hon. Geo. R. Babcock, Col. Wm. A. Bird
ANNUAL ADDRESS, 1867: PREACHERS, PEDAGOGUES AND POETS OF BUFFALO IN 1825	Rev. John C. Lord, D. D.
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY	Oliver G. Steele
BUFFALO IN 1825 (reprint of pamphlet)	S. Bail
LETTER RELATING TO "BUFFALO IN 1825"	Hon. Gideon J. Ball
REMINISCENCES OF BUFFALO AND VICINITY	James L. Barton
EXECUTION OF THE THREE THAYERS	Nathaniel Wilgus
BUFFALO DURING THE WAR OF 1812	Hon. William Dorsheimer
A WRECK AND STOCKADE	E. H. Stewart and O. H. Marshall

NOMRIS'S JOURNAL OF SULLIVAN'S EXPEDITION	<i>from original MS.</i>
BUILDING AND VOYAGE OF THE GRIFFON	<i>O. H. Marshall</i>
A HISTORY OF THE ISRAELITES IN BUFFALO	<i>Rev. S. Falk</i>
FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF ARARAT	<i>Hon. Lewis F. Allen</i>
ORLANDO ALLEN	<i>William C. Bryant</i>
Addenda, supplementing the above.	
OLIVER FORWARD, LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES	<i>Hon. James Sheldon</i>
THE GRAIN ELEVATORS OF BUFFALO	<i>Joseph Dart</i>
THE BUFFALO COMMON SCHOOLS	<i>Oliver G. Steele</i>
THE FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE IN BUFFALO	<i>Crisfield Johnson</i>

VOL. II. 1880.

8vo. pp. 429. Frontispiece. As scarce and desirable as Vol. I. Price on application.

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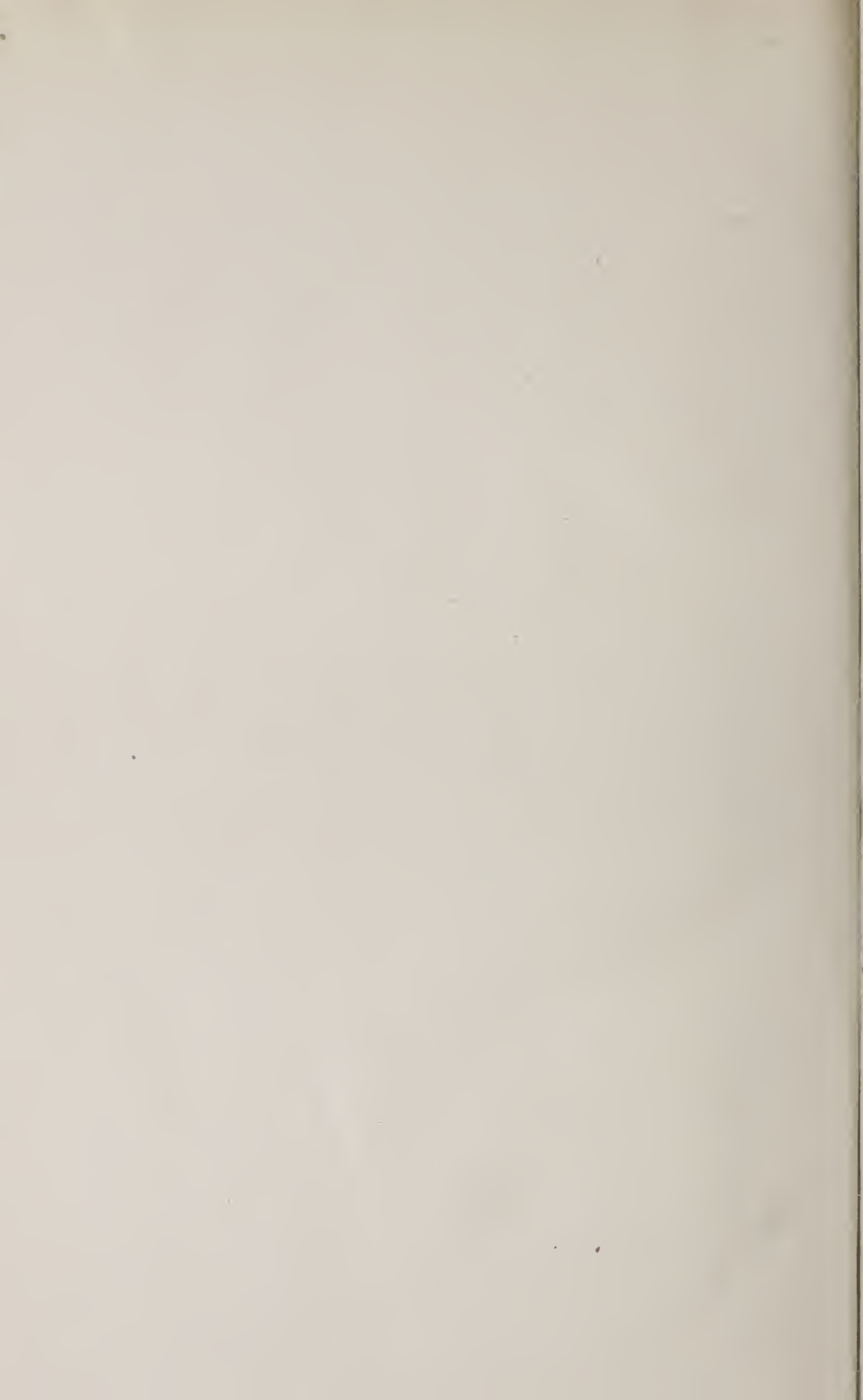
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- P. 81. For "Joseph P. White" read "James P. White."
 P. 105. For "Charles W. Hosmer" read "George W. Hosmer."
 P. 106. For "Solomon G. Guthrie" read "Solomon S. Guthrie."
 P. 106. For "Otto Benser" read "Otto Besser."
 Pp. 155, 225. For "Van Kleek" read "G. A. Van Slyck."
 P. 162. For "Barnard Bartow" read "Bernard Bartow."
 P. 367. For "G. Couche" read "E. Couche."





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